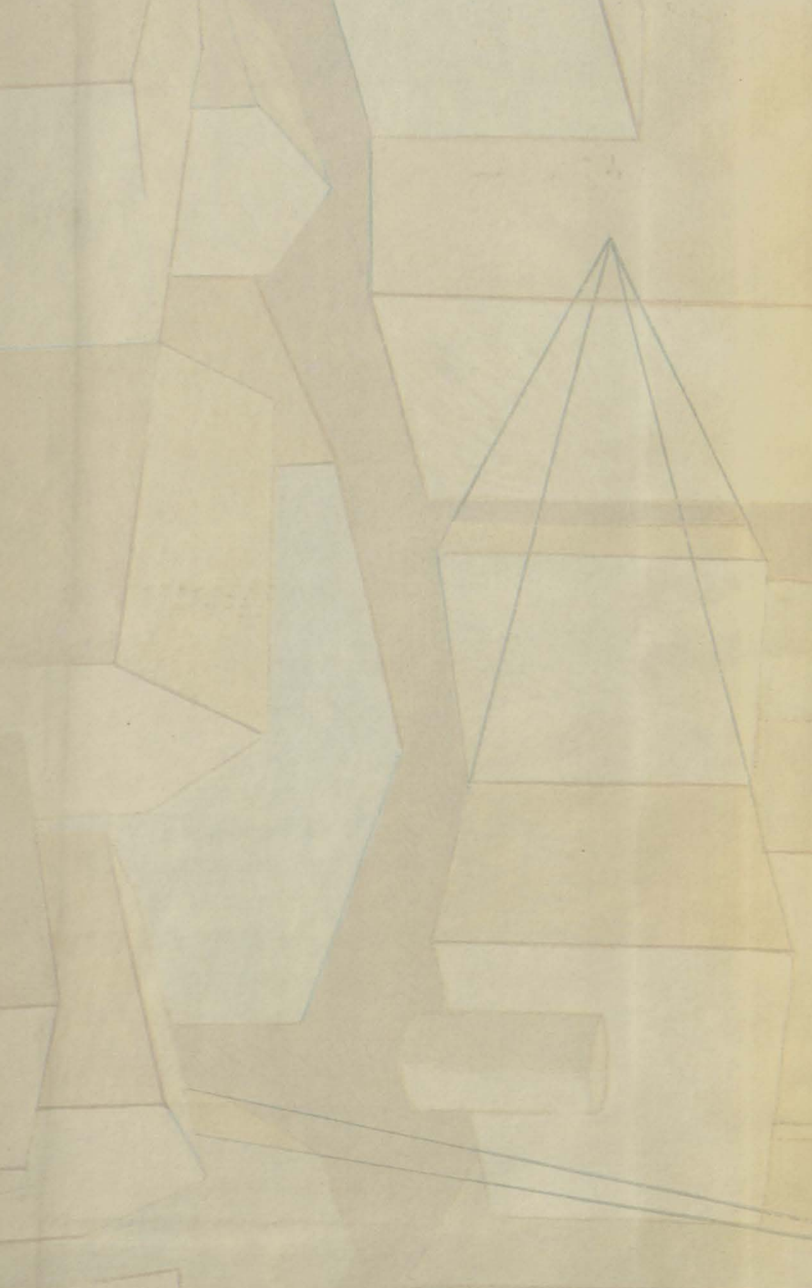


Muslim Rule

Thrones, chairs and seats

By

Abdul Aziz

Advocate

(See P. 147)

— Aziz

CHAPTER I

THRONES, CHAIRS AND SEATS

The Throne stood first among the Insignia of Royalty. While some of the other ensigns, like the *'alam*, the *tūmān-togh*, etc.,[1] could be conferred on, and used by, princes and distinguished nobles, sitting on the throne, was the exclusive privilege of the emperor.[2] This general rule was strictly observed at least up to the end of Akbar's time. But in later reigns exceptions occurred. Apart from two important cases to be noticed presently, we see Shāh Jahān's grandsons, Prince Sulṭān Sikandar (son of Shāh Shujā') and Prince Sulaimān Shukoh (son of Dārā Shukoh) sitting on thrones.[3] Aurangzeb guarded the privilege with jealous care, and insisted on strict observance of the rule. But among the later Mughuls there was again a relapse, for sons of Shāh 'Ālam can be seen on thrones.[4]

In two well-known cases princes were allowed to

1. For fuller details see author's *Arms and Jewellery of the Indian Mughuls*, Part II, the Imperial Insignia.

2. *Ā'īn*, I, 45 ; Blochmann, 52.

3. In pictures described on p. 22 below.

4. See p. 51 below.

sit on a proper seat in the durbar :

When Prince Khurram returned to Māndū after a victorious campaign in the Deccan, and appeared before Jahāṇgīr, the latter was so pleased that he invested the prince with the total rank of $\frac{30,000}{20,000}$ (*du-aspa si-aspa*) and the title of "Shāhjahān", and as a mark of special distinction 'an order was given that henceforth they should place a chair in the paradise-resembling assemblies near my throne for my son to sit upon. This was a special favour for my son, as it had never been the custom heretofore' (*Tūzuk*, 195 ; R. & B., I, 395).

Secondly, towards the latter end of Shāh Jahān's reign, Dārā Shukoh was allowed to sit on a gold seat placed by the imperial throne (*B.N.*, III, 98*b*, 108*a*).

These were very exceptional honours. Generally speaking, so far from occupying a throne or chair in the emperor's durbar, nobody was allowed to sit at all in the public assembly.

All, including the highest ministers of the state, ambassadors from other kings and emperors, and even discrowned foreign princes who sometimes came to ask for military and financial assistance had to stand. The princes of the blood often stood in

court, but sometimes were allowed to sit.[1] This permission granted to any other person was the mark of a very special favour, such as was conferred on 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khwāja, when the latter was allowed by Jahāṇgīr, and a little later by Shāh Jahān, to sit in court.[2] This concession was not in recognition of his position as ambassador, but was meant as a tribute to his personality and descent.

At a private durbar, however, sitting was allowed to high officers and princes, as we are distinctly told by the author of *B.N.* (II, 519).

Shapes, sizes and designs of thrones grew with the skill and fancy of the artist who modelled them, and with the attention and patronage he received from the emperor. From the contemporary pictures extant we gather that a great variety of design and execution came into existence as the material resources increased and the ambition and tastes of the emperors developed. In later times, specially in Shāh Jahān's reign, when the decorative side of art was at its zenith, great intricacy of design and a high standard of finish were attained.

We do not possess sufficient material for a proper classification of models. So we can only

1. This can be verified from many pictures. See also *Storia*, I, pp. 88 (middle) and 89.

2. For fuller details see *Tūzuk*, 416, *B.N.*, I, i, 194 and author's *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān*, Chapter on Coronation.

follow the chronological order, taking up the historical references as they come, and supplementing them with the information obtainable from the painter's art for the period.

EARLY MUGHUL THRONES

Some of the illustrations available make it possible for us to take note of the thrones and chairs used by the ancestors of the Indian Mughuls, before we take up a proper treatment of those belonging to the latter.

On Pl. XXX (a) of *L.E.A.* we see the Turkish Sultan, Bāyazīd Yilderim, being brought before Tīmūr, who had inflicted a crushing defeat on the former at Angora (1402 A.C.). Tīmūr, lance in hand, is sitting on a simple throne, more like a chair. His feet are on the ground.

Again on Pl. XXXI (a) we find Tīmūr squatting on a jewelled throne with a high back. He has a small crown in his hand and a big turban on his head.

It must be remarked, however, that Clavijo, who visited Tīmūr's court at a time when it was at the apogee of pomp and wealth, attended several levees and feasts, but he never saw the emperor sitting on a throne. His seat was usually a dais draped with kincobs and all sorts of gold cloth.

On Pl. II of *Storia*, I, we see Mīrān Shāh sitting on a simply constructed but jewelled open seat. It has six slender, graceful legs, and is fitted with a back. An attendant standing behind is holding over the royal occupant's head a daintily finished umbrella. Between the King's back and the back of the throne there is a bolster.

Next we have a picture of Abū Sa'īd, sitting on a hexagonal throne of another type, with a back and six legs (these last even more slender than in the preceding picture). There is a similar *chatr* or umbrella overhead (*Storia*, I, Pl. III).

Pl. IV in the same volume gives Shaikh 'Umar on a throne, which does not differ materially from the throne of Abū Sa'īd noticed just above. The umbrella too is much of a muchness.

The foregoing pictures, the reader is warned, are probably not contemporary ; and some of them may have as low a date as the latter half of the sixteenth century. We should remember that in India there was no portrait painting worth the name before the foundation of the Mughul empire. The pictures of the thrones on which Bābur's ancestors are found sitting have therefore no historical value. They are given here only for the sake of completeness. What follows belongs to a different class.

THRONES OF THE INDIAN MUGHULS

Bābur

We know that the treasury of Ibrāhīm Lodī which passed into Bābur's possession at Delhi and Agra had accumulated through successive dynasties. So there can be no reasonable doubt that Bābur inherited a number of richly decorated thrones and chairs. Only we possess no descriptions or details.

Here are pictures of two of his thrones:

On Pl. XXXIV (*b*) of *L.E.A.*, Bābur is sitting, hawk in hand, on a hexagonal throne, which has six legs and a back, and is fitted with a *chatr*. Between the Emperor and the back of the throne there is a bolster.

A picture by Farrukh Beg, painted about 1580, represents Bābur holding court. He is sitting on a simple throne, square in shape. It stands on four rather long legs, and has a railing all round, except for an opening in the centre of one of the sides. The throne is set with gems, and has a foot-stool in front (Percy Brown, *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Pl. XIV).

Humāyūn

What we have said of Bābur's reign applies also to his son's.

Whatever Bābur and he inherited must have been left behind when the latter fled to Persia, and there is nothing on record to show how much of Bābur's wealth was in the royal treasury when Humāyūn returned and assumed control in 1555.

During this troubled reign we hear of a jewelled throne in several places.

In the passage where Gulbadan Begam describes the great feast given by Māham Begam, Humāyūn's mother, she speaks of a jewelled throne which was ascended by four steps. On it, on this occasion, were spread a gold-embroidered cover, a quilt and a pillow worked with gold thread (*Humāyūn-Nāma*, 28 [113]).

Later on we have an account of a 'magic feast' given on the bank of the river.

'First there was a large octagonal room with an octagonal tank in the centre, and again, in the middle of the reservoir, an octagonal platform on which were spread Persian (*Wilāyatī*) carpets. Young men and pretty girls and elegant [? beautiful] women and musicians and sweet-voiced reciters [singers] were ordered to sit in the tank.

The jewelled throne which my lady [Humāyūn's mother] had given for the feast was placed in the fore-court of the house, and a gold-embroidered divan [? quilt] was laid in front of it, (on which)

his Majesty and dearest lady sat together' (*Ibid.*, 31 [118]).

After this was celebrated the wedding of Prince Hindāl Mīrzā. The 'mystic house', where it came off, is thus described :

'Opposite the big octagonal chamber, where the feast was held, was another small room also octagonal. Both these rooms were decorated with fastidious tastefulness. In the bigger octagonal chamber, where the feast was to be given, a begemmed throne was deposited. On it and under it were spread covering cloths embroidered in gold, and strings of pearls $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards long were hung. At the end of each string there were two globes of crystal. These strings numbered about thirty or forty.

In the smaller room there was a jewelled *chhapar-khaṭ*,[1] a *pāndān* and a flask ; while drinking vessels set with precious stones and plain vessels of gold and silver were placed in niches' (*Ibid.*, 33).

We have no means of finding out whether one and the same throne is referred to in these three places, or three different thrones were used on the various occasions.

Among the illustrations in *Humāyūn-Nāma*, which are mostly reproductions of original pictures in the valuable volume of *Tārīkh-i-Khāndān-i-*

1. A bedstead with a tester and curtains.

Tīmūria in Bankipur Library, we have one on Plate entitled 'Incidents following the birth of Akbar' (facing p. 158), where Humāyūn is sitting on a hexagonal throne, which stands on six feet, has a flight of steps of a rather unusual kind, and is furnished with a high back. The centre panels running all round the exterior show plenty of white surface picked out with in-set gems. Overhead is a rough-and-ready sort of canopy. The place does not look like the desert of Umarkot where Akbar was born—at a time when Humāyūn was a miserable fugitive, in dire straits. Was this throne carried about with Humāyūn in his wanderings ? The volume from which these pictures are photographed has high credentials, since it belonged to the Imperial Library, and bears an autograph note by Shāh Jahān.

Islām Shāh

In No. H, 51 of Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have Islām Shāh, s/o Sher Shāh, sitting on a gold jewelled throne. It stands on four feet, is square in shape, and has a high back. The picture, however, seems to belong to the late, decadent period.

Akbar

Abū'l-Faẓl is very brief on this subject: 'The *Awrang*, or throne, is made of several forms; some

are inlaid with precious stones, and others are made of gold, silver, etc.'[1] The illustrations (Blochmann, Pl. VII) give us only two models. The first is a simple hexagonal seat with pillows (*masnad*) to lean against and fitted with an umbrella (*chatr*)—another royal ensign which was studded with never less than seven jewels. The second is more elaborate, is square in shape, and has four feet and a roof carried on four poles. Over the roof is a canopy standing on four poles likewise. It is furnished with pillows and has two steps.

In early Mughul times, and even during Akbar's reign, thrones seem to have been used only on state occasions; for we often see Bābur, Humāyūn, and Akbar sitting, even in full durbar, on an estrade, spread over with gold-cloth or velvet—sometimes in a *jharoka* or a pavilion. The reader can verify this by looking at such pictures as E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, Pll. CLXXVIII (Akbar), CLXXIX (Akbar), CLXXX (Akbar), CLXXXII (Akbar), CLXXXIII (Humāyūn), and CLXXXVII (Bābur); and C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings (School of Jahāṇgīr)*, Pl. 6 (Akbar) and Pl. 7 (Jahāṇgīr).

Blochet, Pl. CLXXVIII, is particularly noticeable, for here we have a clear view of the royal

1. *Ā'īn*, 45 ; Blochmann, 52.

seat, which is unoccupied, the Emperor, who is trying to run on his sword, having just left it. It is just an upholstered velvet-and-gold cloth settee, simply and tastefully finished, and placed in the *jharoka*.

Akbar, says Monserrate, 'generally sits, with crossed legs, upon a couch covered with scarlet rugs. However, he has a velvet throne of the Portuguese type carried with him on a journey, and very frequently uses it' (*Commentary*, 199).

On Plate facing p. 164 of *Humāyūn-Nāma* we have Akbar squatting on a simple hexagonal throne, which stands on six feet. It is jewelled all over, the ground of the rectangular panels being picked out in attractive colours; and bosses of gems are seen centrally arranged. The high back is surmounted with a delightfully proportioned canopy, studded with pearls and precious stones.

Stchoukine (*La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. XIV) has a picture of Akbar sitting on a small hexagonal throne with six panels. It has no railing, has probably four elaborately, almost fantastically, worked legs, and a foot-stool or step standing on two small legs.

'On Pl. XLVII (*c*) of *L.E.A.* Akbar is sitting, hawk in one hand sword in the other, on a gold throne, apparently octagonal, with eight legs and a

back, against which reposes a bolster. Over the Emperor's head is an umbrella strung with pearls; and Bīrbal stands behind the throne, *khāndā* in hand.

Jahāṇgīr

In one picture (Brown, Pl. XLIX), painted about 1610, we see Jahāṇgīr holding his court in a garden. He is sitting on a simple, square seat, probably jewelled, which stands on four legs. There is a rough-and-ready sort of canopy on four poles overhead; but it has no connection with the royal seat. Probably it is one of the portable thrones or *sandalīs*.

In Binyon, *Asiatic Art in the British Museum*, on Pl. LVI, No. 2, we have Jahāṇgīr sitting on a beautiful little throne, with a high back, graceful feet, and no railing, all set with jewels, and beautifully finished.

We have a somewhat similar throne in *Ā'īn* (Blochmann, Pl. VII, 1); but the two differ in important details.

A silver throne of a new design and novel fashion, which had been sent by Jahāṇgīr Qulī K͟hān from Gujarāt, was placed before the Emperor on Thursday, the 13th *Muḥarram*, 1019 A.H. (=19th *Farwardīn*, V. R.Y.), which was New Year's

Day. It was inlaid and decorated with figures (*Tūzuk*, 81; R. & B., I, 168).

On the frontispiece of Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Jahāṉgīr is sitting on a large open seat, which Mr. Brown describes as a 'gold and jewelled throne' (p. 84). Each of the four feet consists of a lion standing on an elephant. A flat cloth awning stands on the four columns of the throne. The picture portrays the celebration of the *Āb-pāshī* or *Gulāb-pāshī* festival held on 14 *Tīr*, IX R. Y. (*Tūzuk*, 130, R. & B., I, 265).

A gold-and-silver throne. A gold-and-silver throne presented by I'timādu'd-Daula on Thursday, the 8th *Farwardīn*, XIV R.Y., is thus described by the Emperor: 'Among the offerings of that *Madār-us-salṭana* there was a throne of gold and silver, much ornamented and decorated, the supports of which were in the form of tigers.[1] It had been completed with great assiduity in the space of

1. Figures of lions or tigers used for the decoration of thrones date from ancient times. We are here reminded of Solomon's throne of ivory. In I Kings, x, we have the following:

18. Moreover the king made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold.
19. The throne had six steps, and the top of the throne was round behind: and there were stays on either side on the place of the seat, and two lions stood beside the stays.
20. And twelve lions stood there on the one side and on the other upon the six steps: there was not the like made in any kingdom.

three years, and was made at the cost of Rs. 450,000. This throne had been made by a skilful European of the name of Hunarmand (skilful), who had no rival in the arts of a goldsmith and a jeweller, and in all sorts of skill (*hunarmandī*). He had made it very well, and I gave him this name' (*Tūzuk*, 266 ; R. & B., II, 80). He was rewarded with 3000 *darbs*, a horse and an elephant (R. & B., II, 82-83).

This European, Hunarmand, is Austin of Bordeaux, who was in India from 1613 to 1632, and who describes himself as an expert at counterfeiting precious stones and a skilful cutter of diamonds. Jahāṇgīr's story can be corroborated from Austin's letters. In one dated Lahore, 20th July, 1620, he says 'I made him [the Great Mogul] a royal throne in which there are several millions of gold and of silver'.[1] In another letter from the same place, bearing date 27th April, 1625, he says, more fully, 'I have prepared a design for the construction of a royal throne for the King on which he sits once a year for nine days (which they call the new days), when the Sun enters the sign of the Ram, when their year commences. This throne is supported by four lions weighing 150 quintals

1. "Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux" in *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, IV, i, p. 7.

[quintal =100 French pounds] of silver covered with beaten gold leaf, and the canopy is supported by 12 columns in which there are 12 thousand ounces of enamelled gold. The canopy which is in the form of a dome has been covered by me with 4 thousand of my artificial stones, but the genuine stones corresponding to these are of inestimable value, for the King has a great number of pearls and it is certain that he also has more large diamonds and large rubies than all the princes of the universe. On the ascent which has four steps I made 4 "Suisses" like those which are at the gate of the Louvre, with halbards in their hands but no wine in their stomachs'.[1]

There is no doubt that this is the throne mentioned by Jahāṇgīr in the passage already quoted.

The first account is vague and may or may not refer to the throne described in the *Tūzuk*. The second account is full and corresponds substantially with Jahāṇgīr's; and the title "Hunarmand" forms part of Austin's signature at the bottom of Letters I and IV. The Editor of the Letters thinks that two distinct thrones are mentioned in these two passages, one being made, and the other designed, by Austin.[2] This is very doubtful. In the first place, the earlier statement is vague and brief, and

1. *Ibid.*, p. 13. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

rather casual. Secondly, we should remember that I'timādu'd-Daula's throne was presented to Jahāṇgīr in March, 1619, and this earlier statement was recorded sixteen months later. If Austin had made or designed two thrones before that date, we should expect him to refer to both, and in any case he wouldn't omit the important throne presented by I'timādu'd-Daula. Nor is there any reference to the second throne in the full and deliberate statement in the Letter dated 27 April, 1625. Austin makes no fine distinctions between making and designing, just because the first entry is only a passing remark.

There is another point worthy of attention. Austin gives in these passages the impression that he made the throne for the Emperor, while, as a matter of fact, the throne was made to the order of I'timādu'd-Daula and then presented by him to the Emperor. Furthermore, Austin tells us that he was in the service of Jahāṇgīr on a salary of 120 crowns (*i.e.*, Rs. 270) a month, and was later made a 'captain of 200 horse'. The king 'has given me', he says, 'two elephants and two horses, a house valued at eight thousand livres [£600], and his likeness in gold to put on my hat, which is a mark of honour corresponding to the Order of the Holy Spirit in France' (*Ibid.*, p. 7). Again, he remarks, he served the King as an engineer. Later, when Jahāṇgīr

died he entered the service of Shāh Jahān and designed a throne for him.

We find no corroboration of these statements in the Persian histories.

It is of course possible that Austin belonged to the Goldsmiths' Establishment in the Imperial Household, and I'timādu'd-Daula had the throne prepared, by the Emperor's permission, in the royal manufactory, supplying the material used, and, possibly, paying the wages.

Again, a statement by the German traveller, Heinrich von Poser, is often adduced to corroborate Austin's version. On the morning of Christmas Day, 1621, Austin paid a visit to Von Poser at Agra and offered him an audience of the Emperor. They left Agra together on the 28th, and on January, the 13th. of 1622, joined Jahāṇgīr's camp, putting up with Āṣaf Khān. On the 19th January they obtained private audience of the Emperor at Nūrpur. There, says Von Poser, the Emperor 'inspected the throne, made of gold and about a foot high, constructed after Mr. Augustin's designs'.[1]

Now it is true that Jahāṇgīr was at Nūrpur (Kangra) about the end of January, more probably

1. Note on Austin of Bordeaux by William Irvine in *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, p. 1344.

the beginning of February, 1622.[1] No presentation of a throne, however, is mentioned in the *Tūzuk* on or near that date. This is 2 years and 10 months after I'timādu'd-Daula's throne had been presented to Jahāṇgīr. It is possible that I'timādu'd-Daula's throne was being carried in Jahāṇgīr's camp, and when Austin came to pay his respects the talk naturally turned on the throne, especially as Āṣaf Khān was present at the interview and acted as interpreter in the conversation.[2] So this evidence carries us no further.

The reader will have noticed by the way that Austin and his friend were putting up in Āṣaf Khān's camp. This shows the relations between I'timādu'd-Daula's family and Austin of Bordeaux. We should naturally expect this after Austin had prepared the throne to I'timādu'd-Daula's order.

On Thursday, 24 *Mihr*, XIV R.Y., the day of Dasahra celebration, Mu'tamid Khān offered to Jahāṇgīr a gold throne,[3] with a *yāqūt* ring, a piece of coral, etc.—total price Rs. 16,000. The throne, says the Emperor, was well made (*Tūzuk*, 277;

1. Jahāṇgīr encamped at Nūrpur on 26 *Bahman* (*i.e.*, early in February, 1622). So this interview must have taken place on that date, or nine days after the death of I'timādu'd-Daula.

2. Note on Austin of Bordeaux by William Irvine in *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, p. 1344.

3. R. & B. translate 'tablet,' I do not know why.

R. & B., II, 100-1).

Prince Khurram's Throne.—It appears that Prince Khurram had prepared a jewelled throne for presentation to the Emperor at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. But before it could be offered things changed, and the Prince went into open rebellion. In the collision, which took place between the imperialists and Shāhjahān's rebel forces at Ahmadābād, the throne with 2 lakhs in cash and other things fell into the hands of the royalists; but as they were straitened for money they broke up the throne and distributed the gold among the troopers as pay (*Tūzuk*, 362-63; R. & B., II, 262-64; *Iqbālnāma*, 206-7).

Among vague and hearsay talk about thrones we may notice the following brief passage in Terry:

'Yet may this King be thought to exceed any other in glorious Thrones and rich Jewels. Hee hath a Throne in his Palace at Agra, ascended by degrees, on the top whereof are foure Lions made of massie Silver, gilded, set with Precious Stones, supporting a Canopie of massie Gold' (Purchas, IX, 49). Terry, we must remember, never went to Agra.

LASTLY, WE MAY NOTICE

A Throne of Black Slate.—Jahāṇgīr describes in the following passage a throne of black slate, which

was brought from Allahabad, and had some poetry inscribed on it by his order: 'Daulat Khān, who had been sent to Allahabad to bring the throne of black stone, came on Wednesday, the 4th of the month of Mihr (15th September, 1610), and had an audience and brought the stone safe and sound. In truth it was a wonderful slab, very black and shining. Many say it is of a species of touchstone; in length it was one-eighth less than four cubits [3⅞ *dir'a* or yards], and in breadth 2½ cubits and one *tasū*, whilst its thickness may be three *tasū*. I ordered stone-cutters to carve suitable couplets on the sides of it. They had attached feet to it of the same kind of stone. I often sat [sit] on that throne' (*Tūzuk*, 85; R. & B., I, 177).

We know a little more about this throne from other sources. The author of *B.N.* informs us that on the western side of the quadrangle of *Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣ* (at Agra) there is a platform of marble, where Shāhjahān often sits in summer afternoons and evenings; and on the eastern (*i.e.*, the river) side there is a throne of touchstone (*sang-i-maḥakk*) (*B.N.*, I, ii, 238). This latter is the one referred to in *Tūzuk* above.

Travellers' guides report that these two thrones are still to be found in the places indicated in *B.N.* Mr. Havell informs us that 'on the terrace in front

of the Dîwân-i-khâs are placed two thrones, one of white marble on the side facing the Machchi-Bhawan, and the other of black slate on the rivei side' (*Handbook to Agra and the Taj*, 56).

The material is black slate, and the slab is 3½ yards long, over 2 yards broad, and some 6 inches thick.[1] It stands on octagonal pedestals about 16 inches high.

The throne has the following inscriptions :[2] The first is

بادشاہے کہ تیغ او سازد　　چوں دو پیکر سر عدو بدونیم
محک خسروان پایہ ملک　　مہر و مہ را عیار بر زر و سیم
بے تاریخ او بفکر شدم　　مددی جستم از خدائے حکیم
باشد ایں تخت گاہ فرخندہ　　تکیہ گاہ خدایگان کریم
در دجلی مثل بدر تابندہ　　لؤلؤی بے بہا چو دُرِّ یتیم
تا فلک تخت گاہ خورشید است　　گفت ماند سریر شاہ سلیم
١٠١١

and the second, written in between the preceding verses, is

ہمیشہ باد منوّر بنور مہر اله　　سریر حضرت سلطان سلیم اکبر شاہ

1. Carleylle (*Archaeological Survey of India Report for 1871-72*, Delhi and Agra, IV, 132) is out in his breadth and Beale (*Miftāḥut-Tawārīkh*, page 206) has exaggerated the thickness. Keene (*Handbook for Visitors to Agra and its neighbourhood*, ed. E. A. Duncan, Calcutta, 1909, p. 120) and Newell (*Three Days at Agra*, 53) only copy Carleylle.

2. I have corrected obvious errors in these inscriptions.

Both these were inscribed in 1011 A.H. = 1602-3 A.C., some three years before Akbar's death. Prince Salīm was at this time in rebellion at Allahabad, where, having failed in his efforts, he was now ignominiously suing for peace and pardon.

The third inscription reads thus :

چون شاه سلیم وارث تخت و نگین   بر تخت نشست بست گیتی آئین
شد اسم مبارکش جهانگیر چو ذات   از نور عدالت لقبش نور الدین

The passage we have cited from *Tūzuk* refers to the bringing of the throne from Allahabad, and the writing of this last inscription (1018 = 1610).

I have found no authority for Beale's statement (p. 206) that Akbar prepared this throne for his son Salīm. It is apparently on the support of this that Havell remarks that the throne was 'probably made to commemorate the recognition by Akbar of his son's title to the succession' (p. 56). Both these statements are unsupported by any historical testimony.

'On this terrace [in front of the *Dīwān-i-khāṣ*],' adds Mr. Havell, 'Jahāṇgīr sat to enjoy the sight of his brigantines on the river, or to watch the elephant fights on the level place beneath the walls. From side to side of this throne there is a long fissure, which opened, so says tradition, when the Jât Rajah Jawahar Singh of Bharatpur, in 1765, set

his usurping feet on the throne of the Great Mogul. The tradition holds that blood spurted out of the throne in two places, and red marks in the stone are pointed out as evidence of the truth of the story. The impious chief was shortly afterwards assassinated in the palace' (pp. 56-57).

A Throne of mother of pearl.—On November 2, 1616, Jahāṇgīr broke up camp and left Ajmir. Roe was present on the occasion. The first halting-place was Dorai, about four miles out of Ajmir. Here in the centre of a court, which was 'about halfe an English mile in compasse', says Roe, 'was a throwne of mother of pearle borne on two pillars raysd on earth, covered over with an high tent, the pole headed with a knob of gould; under it canopyes of cloth of gould; under foote carpetts' (p. 287).

S̲h̲āh Jahān

This reign is rich in notices of thrones of various kinds, materials and designs. Notices of all thrones except the Peacock Throne are given below. It has not been practicable to observe chronological order in their presentation.

The Peacock Throne is reserved for separate treatment.

The completion of the fort-palace of S̲h̲āhjahān-

ābād, which had taken eight years and a sum of 60 lakhs of rupees to build, was the fulfilment of one of Shāh Jahān's most cherished ambitions. The investiture, which was held on Saturday, 24 *Rabī'* I, 1058, was celebrated, as might be expected, in a particularly sumptuous manner, furnishings and decorations being carried out on an unusually magnificent scale, even for that reign.

We learn from *B.N.* that on this occasion a jewelled, or gold-enamelled, or *munabbat* (inlaid or embossed), or plain throne was deposited in every room of the palace. From this general statement we gather incidentally that there was quite a large number of thrones, executed in various kinds of workmanship, used on occasions, and in different parts of the palace—both in the Haram and outside.

In addition to these, a 'jewelled throne' was deposited in a square place prepared for it in the centre of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-'ām*. All round this square place ran a railing of gold. In front of the throne was erected on jewelled poles a gold-worked canopy finished with strings of pearls. On either side of the throne-place stood a jewelled *chatr*, also strung with pearls, and an octagonal throne of gold. And behind the throne-place were placed gold and jewelled stools carrying the *qūr*, which consisted of begemmed swords with jewelled

pardalas, shields, quivers with jewelled fittings, and jewelled lances (*B.N.*, III, 18*a*). This 'jewelled throne' cannot be the Peacock Throne, as the latter was at this date at Agra. It is probably one of those that we see in some of the pictures.

Thus we learn that almost every large chamber in Shāh Jahān's palace at Delhi had a throne to itself.

This is roughly corroborated by Tavernier, who says, 'It should be stated that the Great Mogul has seven magnificent thrones, one wholly covered with diamonds, the others with rubies, emeralds, or pearls' (I, p. 303). Then after describing the Peacock Throne at length, he goes on: 'Behind this grand and magnificent throne a smaller one stands, in the form of a bathing-tub. It is of oval shape, about 7 feet in length and 5 in breadth, and the outside is covered with diamonds and pearls, but it has no canopy' (p. 306).

No throne answering to this description is to be seen in any of the pictures extant.

'The other five thrones,' he continues, 'are arranged in a superb hall in another court, and are covered with diamonds, without any coloured stones......These five thrones are disposed in such a manner that they form a cross, four making a square, the fifth being in the middle, but somewhat

nearer to the two which are placed furthest away from the people.

After the Emperor has remained about half an hour in his harem, he comes out with three or four eunuchs to seat himself in the middle one of the five thrones, and during the five days of the festival, sometimes his elephants are brought, sometimes his camels, and all the nobles of his Court come to make their accustomed presents (p. 308).

In Brown we have a beautiful picture of a throne of Shāhjahān's, painted, it is said, about 1630. It is not indeed the Peacock Throne[1] as the title avers, but judging by this representation it must have been one of the finest thrones in Shāhjahān's treasury.

It is square in shape, has a low railing on all four sides (with an opening in the centre of one of the sides), stands on four graceful, richly jewelled legs, and is ascended by three jewelled steps, the lowest of which stands on four dainty little feet. It is fitted with a shapely canopy supported by four begemmed columns. The whole is tastefully finished (*Indian Painting under the Mughals*, Pl. XXV).

Another delightful picture of a throne of Shāh Jahān's is to be found on Pl. 10, C. Stanley Clarke, *Indian Drawings* (*School of Jahāngīr*). This throne

1. For a further notice see pp. 37-38 below.

also stands on four feet, has a comparatively simple footstool, a low railing with an opening on one side for entry, four columns carrying a fine canopy surmounted by two birds—all stuck over with gems and proportioned and decorated in unimpeachable taste. This and the last picture are closely similar to each other and to the illustration of a throne in the *Ā'īn* already referred to. Yet the objects portrayed are not identical. Either they are ringing the changes on an identical throne, of which none of these is a facsimile, or they are likenesses of three distinct thrones which only differ in slight details. The latter alternative is less likely.

In No. H, 35 of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we find Shāh Jahān sitting on a plain gold throne, square in shape, which has four legs, a high back, and a separate footstool. A pearl-fringed umbrella of red colour is fixed over the throne.

There is a good picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, to which no number is allotted. It is a petition submitted to Shāh Jahān by 'Abdu'r-Rashīd Dailmī, better known as Āqā Ṣāḥib, the court calligraphist of that reign, and tutor to Dārā Shukoh. On one sheet is the text of the petition written in beautiful *nasta'līq*, on the other is Shāh Jahān sitting in a spacious kiosk (it may be, a throne) built on a platform. A mace-bearer is

standing behind the Emperor inside the kiosk ; and the petitioner is standing before the Emperor presenting his petition. The picture reveals a master's hand.

A gold throne. On the New Year's Day which fell on Friday, 22 *Shawwāl*, 1046 A.H., the celebration was particularly joyous as Shāhjahān had just recovered from an illness which had lasted nineteen days. The court poets recited poems of thanksgiving and praise ; and the first present that was offered was that by Begum Ṣāḥib, which consisted, besides jewels, jewelled arms and rarities, of a gold throne decorated in relief. All the presents, the value of which came to 2½ lakh, were accepted (*B.N.*, I, ii, 245, *A.S.*, II, 225).

In the spring of 1641 A.C. Shāh Jahān was at Lahore fort, where he celebrated the New Year's Day—the spring festival.[1] Manrique, who witnessed the ceremony, has given a vivid, if somewhat quaint, description of the sights and scenes he saw. After giving a somewhat elaborate and rather confusing

1. It fell on Wednesday, 9 *Ẓū'l-ḥijj*, 1050 *A.H.* (=22 March, 1641), *i.e.*, on the eve of the *'Īd-i-aẓḥā*, so that the two celebrations ran together. Manrique mixes up the *'Īd-i-aẓḥā* with the *'Īdu'l-fiṭr*, when he says that the *Nauroz* 'that year fell during the Easter of their Ramadan, with its thirty days' fast' (p. 192). Making allowance for this error, Manrique's dates are accurate, and the Editor's unfavourable remark in the footnote quite uncalled for.

account of the halls of the Palace he goes on thus to describe a throne which he saw :

'In the centre of this ['magnificent and richly decorated hall'], forming as it were the eighth (if but modern) wonder among the wonders of antiquity, stood a superb Throne. So, if what is most perfect disturbs our feelings, just as the glowing rays of the Sun confronting us obscure our vision ; if the roar of dashing, clashing waters hurling themselves from a lofty rock stuns and deafens our hearing ; if the scent of aromatic drugs and oriental spices confounds our sense of smell ; if the sweetness of the honey of Hybla vitiates our sense of taste ; if the effects of frost numb and destroy the sense of touch ;—what wonder is it that, when my senses were distracted at the sight of so remarkable and surprising an object as that Throne, I could not well grasp the precious nature of its constituent materials ? Yet, in order to carry out my promise, I will not fail to give such an account of it as my perturbed and numbed senses could grasp at the time.

It was a Throne which contained within its spherical circumference four separate stages, each with six gold and silver steps, on which the designer had shown the unrivalled skill of his workmanship.

Upon this Throne or tacto [*ta<u>kh</u>t*], as the natives

style it, stood eight exceedingly rich columns of gold sustaining a Cupola of the same metal which formed a canopy and cover over a most magnificent and beautiful seat, also of gold. The Throne, in the brilliance of its glittering, polished metal, thus served to remind one that, except with due submissiveness, one should not amongst such splendours dare to gaze on the richest gifts which ancient mother earth is wont to bestow on the great and most powerful of this world.

For here were to be seen the purest and most brilliant diamonds from Bisnagna [Bisnagar or Vijayanagar], lovely to look on and (as our St. Isidor avers) most useful against enchantments, while they far exceeded ordinary diamonds in size. Here, too, was the purple ruby from Ava, which exposed to the air glows red and scintilates under the rays of the glittering Planet. Also were to be seen green emeralds, most precious of stones, from the mountains of Jatir, whose soft radiance and glow, comforting and cheering the tired sight, entices the eye to look upon them. Moreover, here were to be seen, even more lovely, and hailing from the same Jatir mountains, the celestial sapphire, whose colour resembles Heaven's blue in a serene sky and in splendour the Firmament: they say that they cool down, in whosoever bears them, all lustful ardours

of the flesh.

Nor, to complete the perfection of this rare marvel, did it lack the ornaments of the gates of Paradise ; for it could be seen that the Indian Ocean and Persian Gulf had to this end contributed its finest and roundest pearls, useful, it is alleged, for the body's health and in lotions for bad eyesight.

Three sets of steps made of silver, seven palms in height, encompassed this Throne. These were in three separate flights and served to distinguish the rank and dignity of those who, within their precincts, attended the Court of the Mogol Majesty' (II, 197-99).

Despite Manrique's quaint eloquence, we are unable from this description to identify this throne with any throne that we know.

Gold enamelled throne. Shāh Jahān built for himself a gold enamelled throne 2½ yards[1] long, 1 yard[1] and 21 *ṭassū* wide, and 4½ yards[1] high. It was prepared in a period of nine months, and cost five lakhs of rupees.

Shāh Jahān sat on this throne on 8 *Rabī*' I, 1062 and again on Friday, 26 *Ṣafar*, 1064 *A.H.* (Solar Weighment celebrating the beginning of the 63rd

1. A yard is about 33 inches.

solar year of his life).[1]

Manucci was, in the summer of 1656, received in audience by Shāh Jahān at Delhi. His description of the court, its arrangements and procedure, is interesting, and deserves to be quoted :

'I noted that the throne on which the king, Shāh Jahān, was seated stood in front of and near to the palace of the women, so that as soon as he came out of its door he reached the throne. It is like a table, adorned with all sorts of precious stones and flowers in enamel and gold. There are three cushions, a large one, five spans in diameter, and circular, which serves as a support to the back, and two other square ones, one on each side, also a most lovely mattress. For in Turkey, and throughout the whole of Hindūstān, they do not sit upon chairs, but upon carpets or mattresses, with their legs crossed.

1. *B.N.*, III, P.U.L. MS., 60*b*, and 85*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 136 and 180. The dimensions given above are deduced from the somewhat conflicting statements in the authorities cited. There is material discrepancy, however, over the height of the throne ; and there is just a chance that two different thrones were used on the two occasions referred to, one 3 yards and 21 *ṭassū* high used on 8 *Rabī'* I, 1062, and the other 4½ yards high used on 26 *Ṣafar*, 1064 ; but in that case the thrones must have agreed in every other particular including both dimensions and cost—which is perhaps unlikely. It must be said in support of this slender hypothesis, however, that both *B.N.*, III and *A.S.*, III give 3 yards and 21 *ṭassū* as the height on the earlier occasion—which point need be considered only if *A.S.* is not simply copying from *B.N.*

Around the throne, at the distance of one pace, are railings of gold of the height of one cubit, within which no one enters except the king's sons. Before they enter they come and, facing the king, go through their obeisance, then enter the palace and come out by the same door from which the king issued. Arriving there, they again make obeisance, and upon a sign from the king they take their seat in the same enclosure, but at the foot of and on one side of the throne. Thereupon the pages appear with the umbrella, parasol, betel, spittoon, sword, and fly-brusher.' (*Storia*, I, 88)

Although Manucci's description of the throne is extremely meagre, we know that this could not be the Peacock Throne; for, according to Manucci's account,[1] Shāh Jahān never used the Peacock Throne.

Some thrones of Princes have been portrayed by artists:

On Pl. XVIII of *Storia* (Vol. II) we see Sulṭān Sulaimān Shukoh, son of Dārā Shukoh, sitting on a small jewelled throne. It is square in shape, and has four legs and a back. And attendant behind holds the umbrella over him.

On Pl. XXI, *Storia* (Vol. II), we have Sulṭān Sikandar, son of Prince Shāh Shujā', sitting, on a

1. See below.

square, four-legged, high-backed jewelled throne. This specimen differs very slightly from the one on Pl. XIX to be dealt with later.

Thrones of stone.—All thrones were not made of the precious metals. Marble thrones were sometimes used. Jahāṇgīr's throne of black slate has already been noticed. A wooden throne belonging to Aurangzeb will be mentioned under that emperor.

A Throne of White Marble.—This, as we have seen, still stands on the Machhi Bhawan side of the terrace in Agra fort. *B.N.* describes it as a platform of marble, but Agra Guides call it a marble throne. It is a rectangular slab and stands on four legs. It has been there since S͟hāh Jahān's time: earlier history is not available.

We are told in the same place (*B.N.*, I, ii, 238) that on the south side of the Machhi Bhawan courtyard is a kiosk of marble on four columns, decorated with embossed (or inlaid) work. Inside this kiosk stands a gold throne for the Emperor.

In the Hall of Private Audience in Delhi Fort the visitors can see a beautifully carved marble dais. It is said, apparently on the authority of Carr Stephen, that it was used as a support of the Peacock Throne. Taking the height of this marble platform together with the altitude of the Peacock

Throne as we know it, it would hardly seem possible to accommodate the Throne under the roof of the Hall. Be that as it may, the marble dais is a remarkable piece of furniture by itself.

Lord Curzon saw at Teheran the white marble throne of Kerim Khan Zend, wrought of marble of Yezd, and brought from Shiraz, and describes it in *Persia and the Persian Question* (I, 313). Some suppose it to be an Indian throne, and part of Nādir Shāh's spoil. See an illustration of it in Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, p. 222.

PEACOCK THRONE

Great and varied as the wealth is through which we have meandered we have not yet reached the climax. The throne-building which we have so far surveyed does not reflect the mind and art of Shāh Jahān. The specimens noticed represent only minor efforts made either to serve an occasion or to satisfy a passing whim, or else they were merely promoted by a love of variety. The Peacock Throne was Shāh Jahān's *chef d'oeuvre*, by which he is to be remembered and judged. Historically its design or decoration was not evolved out of any pre-existing specimens. The throne was designed, as the reader will see, quite early in the reign, and we can trace no family resemblance between it and

those manufactured before in the earlier reigns.

We deal with it last, as it is the last word in Mughul decorative art.

The vigorous artistic instinct of a great and free people was blindly yearning for scope and effective expression, and in the decorative, as well as in the building, art it was reserved for Shāh Jahān's genius to lead the converging currents of aesthetic life and taste into some great culminating achievement, which would remain at least as an abiding memory of a great people's great ideals.

The building of the Peacock Throne is a conspicuous landmark in the world's artistic creation. Those who consider it to be only a very costly work of art miss the entire point. Just as among the products of nature there is something classic about precious stones, so is there something classic, indeed, something epic, about the Peacock Throne in the world of art. Mulla 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd is indulging in no senseless superlatives when he says that in the reign of no king or emperor in the ages gone by has a similar throne been prepared (*B.N.*, I, ii, 78). He is stating the literal truth—indeed, with commendable restraint. On rare occasions have beauty and wealth been so well wedded together. The only pity is that the extreme costliness of the material and delicacy of workmanship proved but

a poor guarantee against destruction when political vicissitudes exposed the Throne to the vulgar greed of the barbarian.

The following account of the building of the *Takht-i-ṭā'ūs* is taken from *B.N.*[1]:

Large quantities of precious stones had gathered for years in the Jewel Treasury. Early in the reign it occurred to the Emperor Shāh Jahān that shutting up so much beautiful wealth in the store-rooms of the Treasury defeated the true purpose of its acquisition, *viz.*, show and decoration. They could and should be used in such a way as to serve the double purpose of making so much art treasure visible to the public and of being utilized to a practical end. Orders were consequently issued that, leaving apart the *khāṣṣa* jewels kept in the Jewel Treasury of the Haram, the total value of which was assessed at two crores of rupees, and those which were worn on the person of the Emperor, all the stones and gems in the outer Treasury,[2] which totalled three crores in value, should be passed before the Emperor.

Out of them precious stones weighing 50,000 *miṣqāls* (say, about 500 lbs.) and worth 86 lakhs of

1. I, ii, 78-81.

2. It may be noted in passing that *B.N.* has Khān Zamān, which ought to be *Khāzinān* as is clear from Burhānu'd-Dīn, *Mulakhkhaṣ*, f. 831*a*.

rupees were selected and entrusted to Bebadal K͟hān, the *dārog͟ha* of the Goldsmiths' Department. These, along with pure gold weighing one lakh *tolas* or 250,000 *misqāls* (=2,500 lbs.), the value of which came to 14 lakhs of rupees,[1] were to be used in the building of a throne measuring 3¼ yards[2] long, 2½ yards broad, and 5 yards high (including the canopy). The ceiling was to be decorated chiefly with enamel and in part with inlaid work, and the roof profusely studded with rubies, *yāqūts*, etc., the canopy being supported by twelve pillars of emeralds. On the top of the canopy were to stand two jewelled peacocks, and between these a tree studded with rubies, diamonds, emeralds, and pearls. And three steps set with bright jewels were to afford ascent to the throne.

The throne was seven years building, and was completed in 1044 A.H., the total expense being one crore of rupees, as already indicated.

Eleven begemmed slabs, continues the author of *B.N.*, were fitted round the royal seat for support, the place of the twelfth being left open, apparently for entry. The middle one of these eleven slabs on which the Emperor leaned and rested his hand was

1. *A.S.* has 15 lakhs.

2. Royal measure. This yard should be taken as equivalent to 33 inches.

worth ten lakhs of rupees. The slab bore in its centre a historic ruby (worth 1 lakh), which Sh̲āh 'Abbās of Persia had sent as a present to the Emperor Jahāṇgīr, who, in turn, sent it to Prince Kh̲urram in the Deccan as a reward for his victories in those regions.

The kings and princes, through whose hands it passed, had their names engraved on it. It bore the names of the great Tīmūr, Mīrzā Sh̲āh Ruk̲h̲, Mīrzā Ulug̲h̲ Beg, Sh̲āh 'Abbās of Persia, Jahāṇgīr (with his father's), and Sh̲āh Jahān. This stone has already been referred to in author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls*, pp. 277-78.

Ḥājī Muḥammad Jān Qudsī, at the Emperor's orders, composed the following *maṣnavī* in praise of the throne, inside of which it was inscribed in green enamel.[1]

زہے فرخندہ تخت پادشاهی   که شد ساماں بتائید الٰہی
فلک روزی که میکردش مکمل   زر خورشید را بگداخت اول
بحکم کار فرما صرف شد پاک   بمینا کاریش مینای افلاک
جز این تخت از زر و گوهرچه مقصود   وجود بحر و کان را حکمت این بود
ز یاقوتش که در قید بهانیست   لب لعل بتانرا دل بجانیست
برای پایه اش عمرے کشیده   گہر افسر بسر خاتم بدیده
بخرجش عالم از زر شد چنان پاک   که شد از گنج خالی کیسهٔ خاک
رساند گر فلک خود را بپایش   دهد خورشید و مه را رو نمایش

1. Or in enamel of pure emerald, as *A.S.* puts it.

سرافرازی که سر بر پایه اش سود — زگردون پایهٔ بر تخت افزدو
خراج بحر و کان پیرایهٔ او — پناه عرش و کرسی سایهٔ او
ز انواع جواهر گشته الوان — چراغ عالمی هردانهٔ آن
در اطرافش بود گلهائی مینا — فروزان چون چراغ از طُور سینا
چو میکرد از فرازش کوتهی دست — نگین خویش جم برپایه اش بست
شب تار از فروز لعل و گوهر — تو اند صد فلک را داد اختر
دهد شاه جهان را بوسه برپائی — ازان شد پایهٔ قدرش فلک سائی
کند شاه جهان بخش جوان بخت — خراج عالمی را خرج یک تخت
خداوندی که عرش و کرسی افراخت — تواند قدرتش تختی چنین ساخت
اثر باقیست تا کون و مکان را — بود بر تخت جا شاه جهان را
بود تختی چنین هر روز جالیش — خراج هفت کشور زیر پایش
چوتاریخش زبان پرسید از دل — بگفت اورنگ شاهنشاه عادل

اورنگ شاهنشاه عادل gives the year 1044.

Another has found another chronogram equally good: سرير همايون صاحب قرانى (1044)

This is all that 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd, the prime authority for Shāh Jahān's reign, has to say on the subject.

Now we can turn to '*Amal-i-Ṣāliḥ*. Only additions and modifications need be noticed.

Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ[1] adds that the throne was rectangular in shape. Further he says that the jewelled canopy stood on eight enamelled pillars of gold. So not only have we 'enamelled' instead of 'emerald', which perhaps can be reconciled by imagining that

1. *A.S.*, II, 86-87.

the piers had an emerald enamel like the inscription inside; but we have eight columns instead of twelve, which is a serious discrepancy. The twelve columns of *B.N.* are supported by all the copies of *Mulakhkhaṣ* that I have seen and by Burhānu'd-Dīn, *Mulakhkhaṣ*, 831*b*.

Again, on the top of the canopy two gold enamelled peacocks, on the uplifted (tail) feathers of which emeralds are set, stand facing each other; and each of them holds in his beak a ruby of singular brilliance.

In *B.N.*, the peacocks are jewelled, and here they are enamelled. But this is not material, since they were probably both. The other details are welcome as supplementary. The relative position of the birds is corroborated; only the tree between them is not mentioned in *A.S.*—which is probably an oversight. Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ winds up by saying that jewels of all kinds like *yāqūts*, emeralds, diamonds of European cut, large and small, have been used for decoration everywhere.

This is all the authentic or official history that we possess on the subject.

All the other accounts in Persian histories are more or less mediately derived from these contemporary accounts, and may therefore be ignored as second-hand or hearsay.

It is now time to take up the European authorities. Tavernier and Bernier are eye-witnesses, the former a jeweller who visited the capital several times, and *prima facie* the best judge of such an article that we could think of, and the latter a remarkably intelligent observer. How far our expectations will be fulfilled will appear in the sequel.

We quote Tavernier's long account of the Peacock Throne in full:

'The principal throne', says Tavernier, who is talking of the Peacock Throne, 'resembles in form and size our camp beds; that is to say, it is about 6 feet long and 4 wide. Upon the four feet, which are very massive, and from 20 to 25 inches high, are fixed the four bars which support the base of the throne, and upon these bars are ranged twelve columns, which sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open. Both the feet and the bars, which are more than 18 inches long, are covered with gold inlaid and enriched with numerous diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. In the middle of each bar there is a large balass[1] ruby, cut en cabuchon, with four emeralds round it, forming a square cross. Next in succession, from one side to the other along the length of the bars there are similar crosses, arranged so that in one the

1. 'Balet in the original, for balass, &c'. (P. 303, *f.n.*).

ruby is in the middle of four emeralds, and in another the emerald is in the middle and four balass rubies surround it. The emeralds are table-cut, and the intervals between the rubies and emeralds are covered with diamonds, the largest of which do not exceed 10 to 12 carats in weight, all showy stones, but very flat. There are also in some parts pearls set in gold, and upon one of the longer sides of the throne there are four steps to ascend it. Of the three cushions or pillows which are upon the throne, that which is placed behind the Emperor's back is large and round like one of our bolsters, and the two others placed at his sides are flat. Moreover, a sword, a mace, a round shield, a bow and quiver with arrows, are suspended from this throne, and all these weapons, as also the cushions and steps, both of this throne and of the other six, are covered over with stones which match those with which each of the thrones respectively is enriched.

I counted the large balass rubies on the great throne, and there are about 108, all cabuchons, the least of which weighs 100 carats, but there are some which weigh apparently 200 and more. As for the emeralds, there are plenty of good colour, but they have many flaws; the largest may weigh 60 carats, and the least 30 carats. I counted about 116; thus there are more emeralds than rubies.

The underside of the canopy is covered with diamonds and pearls, with a fringe of pearls all round, and above the canopy, which is a quadrangular-shaped dome, there is a peacock with elevated tail made of blue sapphires and other coloured stones, the body of gold inlaid with precious stones, having a glare ruby in front of the breast, whence hangs a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats or thereabouts, and of a somewhat yellow water. On both sides of the peacock there is a large bouquet of the same height as the bird, consisting of many kinds of flowers made of gold inlaid with precious stones. On the side of the throne opposite the court there is a jewel consisting of a diamond of from 80 to 90 carats weight, with rubies ond emeralds round it, and when the Emperor is seated he has this jewel in full view. But in my opinion the most costly point about this magnificent throne is that the twelve columns supporting the canopy are surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, which are round and of fine water, and weigh from 6 to 10 carats each. At 4 feet distance from the throne two umbrellas are fixed, on either side, the sticks of which for 7 or 8 feet in height are covered with diamonds, rubies, and pearls. These umbrellas are of red velvet, and embroidered and fringed all round with pearls.

This is what I have been able to observe regard-

ing this famous throne, commenced by Tamerlane and completed by Shāh Jahān ; and those who keep the accounts of the King's jewels, and of the cost of this great work, have assured me that it amounts to 107,000 lakhs of rupees, which amount to 160,500,000 livres of our money' (Tavernier, I, 303-305).

Such an elaborate and minute eye-witness account of such an important article which is no longer in existence ought, indeed, to be considered a boon, for which we could not be too thankful. The fulness of detail given here is unrivalled in any source, Persian or European. If Tavernier's commendable love of detail had been matched even with a tolerably high standard of accuracy, the French jeweller-traveller would have stood head and shoulders above the other authorities on the subject. As will appear in the sequel, his lack of observation and judgment is deplorable. But before we embark on criticism Bernier's account of the Throne may be placed before the reader :

'The throne', he says, 'was supported by six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds and diamonds. I cannot tell you with accuracy the number or value of this vast collection of precious stones, because no person may approach sufficiently near to reckon them, or judge

of their water and clearness; but I can assure you that there is a confusion of diamonds, as well as other jewels, and that the throne, to the best of my recollection, is valued at four *Kourours* of *Roupies.* I observed elsewhere that a *Lecque* is one hundred thousand *roupies*, and that a *Kourour* is a hundred *Lecques*; so that the throne is estimated at forty millions of *roupies*, worth sixty million of pounds [livres] or thereabouts. It was constructed by *Chah-Jehan*, the father of *Aureng-Zebe*, for the purpose of displaying the immense quantity of precious stones accumulated successively in the treasury from the spoils of ancient Rajas and *Patans*, and the annual presents to the Monarch, which every *Omrah* is bound to make on certain festivals. The construction and workmaship of the throne are not worthy of the materials; but two peacocks, covered with jewels and pearls, are well conceived and executed. They were made by a workman of astonishing powers, a *Frenchman* by birth, named........who, after defrauding several of the Princes of *Europe*, by means of false gems, which he fabricated with peculiar skill, sought refuge in the *Great Mogol's* court, where he made his fortune' (pp. 268-69). In another place, speaking of the wealth of the Great Mughul, he says, 'I doubt whether any other Monarch possesses more of this species of wealth;

a throne of the great *Mogol*, covered with pearls and diamonds, being alone valued, if my memory be correct, at three *kourours* of *roupies*' (p. 223).

Even yet we are not qualified to appraise these descriptions. We cannot discuss their respective merits unless we have before us the picture of a copy of the Peacock Throne (to be noticed presently),[1] which was prepared in cheaper material to the order of Akbar II (or Bahādur Shāh II). This picture is to be found in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology, and probably gives a more adequate idea of the Peacock Throne than any other picture extant. We regret that nothing nearer the original is available.

We will now request the reader to observe this picture closely and in detail. The Throne, he will notice, is unoccupied and stands on a special carpet in the Hall of Private Audience. High above is stretched on slender poles a large canopy worked over with a beautiful pattern in gold thread, and trimmed with a fringe.

Now this important picture is to be studied in close connection with the authentic descriptions of the Throne, which have already been placed before the reader. We are now in a position to take up the criticism.

1. See p. 63 below.

The dimensions given by Tavernier make the Throne a rectangle, but they are widely divergent from those in the Persian histories. But we need not enter into a discussion of the details.

The 'twelve columns' in *B.N.* and Tavernier are borne out by both the pictures in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology,[1] and may be considered as established, notwithstanding Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's 'eight'. In fact according to Tavernier the most costly item of the Throne was the twelve columns surrounded with beautiful rows of pearls, round and fine, weighing from 6 to 10 carats each. It is to be noted that *B.N.* speaks only of emerald columns, and *A.S.* makes them of enamelled gold. All these descriptions may of course be true; but none helps in corroborating another. Tavernier's statement that twelve columns 'sustain the canopy on three sides, that which faces the court being open' is, as the reader can easily see, quite wrong, and in fact his whole account of the four bars supporting the base of the throne, and the columns being ranged on these bars is unintelligible in view of the shape and proportions indicated in the Picture.

Mr. Brown's suggestion that the Throne had

1. The painting already referred to and the picture from the Bankipur Library *Bādshāhnāma* MS., which claims to portray Shāh Jahān's first sitting on the Peacock Throne. See p. 61 below.

originally eight columns, which were subsequently replaced by twelve, is mentioned below.

The solid box-like base of the royal seat, which we see in the Painting, constitutes the bulk of the Throne. But in Tavernier's account there is no room for this big base, since the bars were fixed on the feet, he says, and the columns were ranged on the bars.

It is true that this base is not specifically mentioned in the Persian histories, but we can understand that gold weighing 2,500 lb. could only have been used on such a solid and heavy member. Besides the total dimensions given in the Persian authorities correspond beautifully to the measurements of the Throne in the D.M.A. Picture. It may be noted in passing that in the Picture, where the Throne is unoccupied, the rail in the front centre window, on which the Emperor leaned and rested his hand, is absent, and is replaced by a pillow.

Now about the feet: The four feet on which the Throne in the Picture stands are very small, and this is negatively corroborated by the official account, which ignores them as too insignificant. Tavernier speaks of four 'very massive' feet about 2 feet high; while Bernier outdoes him and has 'six massy feet, said to be of solid gold, sprinkled over with rubies, emeralds, and diamonds'. Such

heavy paws are inconsistent with the skeleton and structure of the Throne as we visualize it. Tavernier is as hopeless as usual. But even Bernier is not living up to his reputation.

As for the steps which afforded ascent to the Throne, *B.N.* has three, while Tavernier has four. The Picture gives no guidance, since the stairway is on the back side.

The most serious blunder in Tavernier's account concerns the peacocks and the tree. Considering that the peacocks were not only a prominent feature of the throne but the distinguishing characteristic which gave it its name, one feels disposed to doubt if Tavernier ever really looked at the throne. Tavernier has the audacity to state that there was only one peacock and on either side of it a large bouquet, *i.e.*, 'tree.' There can be no excuse for such gross misobservation or such careless statement.

Even Bernier, who saw the throne only from a distance, saw that there were two peacocks.

And yet Tavernier claims that his description of the thrones, which he 'had sufficient time to contemplate thoroughly,' is 'very exact and faithful' (p. 319).

Further, Tavernier makes sapphires prominent on the peacock's 'elevated tail,' while *A.S.*, as-

we have seen, mentions only emeralds. Again, Tavernier speaks of a large ruby in front of its breast, from which a pear-shaped pearl of 50 carats hung, while *A.S.* speaks only of a brilliant ruby in the beak of each peacock, and in the picture a string (? of pearls) hangs from each beak.

The jewel consisting of a large diamond set round with rubies and emeralds which hung before the Emperor's eye when he was seated, is not mentioned by any other author. Probably it is no part of the Throne, any more than are the two umbrellas fixed on either side of the royal seat. In all probability it was a *Kaukaba*. The reader will recognize these features when he comes to the setting in which the Peacock and other thrones were sometimes placed,[1] and will see that they were only appurtenances and ornaments added as occasion arose.

In Tavernier's detailed description we cannot recognize either the Throne described by 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd and Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ, or the one so vividly portrayed in the Painting. Taking all things into consideration we are inclined to believe, and the reader who has accompanied us so far will, it is hoped, agree, that either Tavernier never looked at the Peacock Throne, or else if he did he had

1. See pp. 41-42 below.

forgotten nearly everything about it by the time he sat down to describe it.

Tavernier's yarn about the throne having been begun by Tamerlane is outrageous. He seems to have at the back of his mind the accumulation of the jewel treasury since Tīmūr's times. A poor justification at best !

Now we can turn to Bernier's account, which calls for a few remarks. He saw the throne, as he admits, only from a distance. Still his remarks, where they are corroborative, are welcome.

Bernier's opinion about the construction and workmanship of the Throne stands alone ; but his allegation that a Frenchman, whose name is omitted, made the throne deserves examination. The Editor says in a footnote that Steuart, in his edition of a part of Bernier's *Travels*, Calcutta, 1826, gives the name of this Frenchman as La Grange.

Austin of Bordeaux, in his Letter dated Chaul (near Bombay), 9 March, 1632, tells us that Shāh Jahān wanted Austin to make for him certain 'Engines of war,' to be used against the Deccanīs, who, he says, are neighbours, friends and confederates of the Portuguese. On this ground Austin refused the demand, and the Emperor threatened to confiscate his two years' pay which was in arrears. 'I had employed these two years at Agra',

he says, 'in making plans for a new throne which the King had ordered before he left Agra for the Deccan. The King had required that two hundred times a hundred thousand livres should be spent on this throne in gold, diamonds, rubies, pearls, and emeralds.'[1] This sum comes to 1½ crores of rupees at a livre =1*s*. 6*d*.

Now, some writers surmise that the Peacock Throne is the throne mentioned here, and that Bernier, in the passage quoted above, meant Austin of Bordeaux. And on this corroboration is built up the theory that the Peacock Throne was made or designed by a Frenchman.

It is to be remarked in the first place that while Austin of Bordeaux was making plans for a new throne for two years, Bernier's Frenchman, whatever his name, made only the two peacocks for the Peacock Throne. We have enough confidence in Bernier's care and precision to declare that his statement lends no support to Austin's story.

That leaves Austin's statement, uncorroborated as it is, to be dealt with on its merits. It may be granted at once that the time of Austin's writing synchronises beautifully with the period when the great Throne was building, *viz.*, 1037-44 *A.H.* (=1628-35 *A.C.*). But we find no further evidence

1. "Four Letters by Austin of Bordeaux" in *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, IV, i, p. 17.

in support of Austin's claim. And in view of the official account of the designing and the building of the Throne (already placed before the reader), it seems extremely unlikely that Augustin de Bordeaux was placed in sole charge of the designing. It may indeed be that Austin, being a foreigner of repute, was consulted about a possible plan for the Throne, and, his plan being rejected, no mention of his name occurs anywhere. And his statement that he was engaged on the plans for two years would still be true. In fact one is tempted to venture the uncharitable suggestion that the payment of his salary was perhaps conditional on his doing satisfactory work, and that when his plans did not meet with the Emperor's approval, his pay was withheld. This would account for the arrears to which Austin refers.

Besides, Austin's strong point as a jeweller was making of synthetic stones; and although his skill as a jeweller-goldsmith drew encomiums from Jahāngīr, he must have appeared as a charlatan to Shāh Jahān, who was the greatest connoisseur of precious stones in the country, and hated false gems. The setting of 4,000 artificial stones on the canopy of the throne, of which Austin boasts, must have seemed no more than a fraud to him, who knew the real values of things. In view of this, even if Shāh Jahān

placed Austin on the committee of designers (if there was one), we shouldn't be surprised if he was soon dismissed as incompetent or useless.

And even if Bernier does refer to Austin of Bordeaux in the passage already given (of which we have no proof), his opinion about the French workman, as the reader has noticed, does not differ materially from the estimate adumbrated above. But then he only made the two peacocks, which is not corroborated by Austin himself.

Besides, when we read the account of the building of the Throne in the *Bād<u>sh</u>āhnāma*, and notice the minute instructions issued by the Emperor, it does not seem at all necessary to look for a man who is to be credited with the designing and the planning of the Peacock Throne. And from what we know of <u>Sh</u>āh Jahān both as a jeweller and as a designing architect, we consider it highly probable that the Emperor drew up the plans himself, which were skilfully executed by his officers and workmen in the Goldsmiths' Department, or else criticised or modified so thoroughly the plans submitted to him that the selected model was more an expression of his own genius and taste than of that of any one of his officers.

Now we can consider the total cost of the throne. The Persian authorities are clear on the

point. The price of the gold and the jewels came just to one crore according to *B.N.*, and 1,01,00,000 according to *A.S.* (the difference is immaterial). But we must remember that this is the value only of the raw material, and the wages of the highly skilled workmen of the Goldsmiths' Department, who drew regular salaries, and who worked at it for seven years, are taken no account of in this estimate. This would come to a good sum. Is the odd one lakh in Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ's estimate just the workmen's salary bill? Aurangzeb's additions, mentioned below,[1] belong, we must remember, to a later date than the writing of *A.S.*

Again, is it possible that when the author of *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ* quotes Rs. 1,11,00,000 as the total value of the Peacock Throne (f. 59 *b*), he has just counted in the cost of making and the value of the additional ornamentation by Aurangzeb? He, however, gives no details.

Next we can take up the Europeaan quotations. Tavernier has 107,000 lakhs, which, he says, amounts to 160,500,000 livres (=£12,037,500)! Even correcting this to 1,070 lakhs (as the Editor suggests, to make the sum equivalent to the amount in French money) we have still ten times the true figure. And yet Tavernier claims that he got the estimate from

1. See p. 65 below.

the keepers of the royal records. It requires a great deal of charity to assume that Tavernier's informant gave him 107 lakhs, and Tavernier played at adding ciphers (to please himself). In that case 7 lakhs would be the cost of making. We must say that we started with full faith in the accuracy of Tavernier's statements in general ; but that has been steadily losing ground with cumulating evidence, and has at last touched the zero point.

Bernier's estimate is extravagant. But then, in fairness to him, we must concede that he quotes no credentials for his statements, like Tavernier. In fact he admits that he is talking from hearsay, and is himself not positive as regards the accuracy. Only we did not expect him to contradict himself, as he does. It can just be mentioned that when he is quoting 4 crores as cost, he may be confusing Indian rupees with *kh̲ānīs* of Transoxiana ; for we are told in *B.N.* and *A.S.* (in the account already quoted from) that one crore of Indian rupees equals 4 crores of *kh̲ānīs* of Transoxiana or Tūrān.

The reputed value of the Peacock Throne grew into fabulous sums as time went on. Jean Law de Lauriston, who wrote in the fifties of the eighteenth century, values the Throne approximately at 280 million livres, which comes to some 21 crores of rupees ! *Mémoire sur quelques affaires de l'Empire*

Mogol 1756-1761. Paris, 1913, p. 581).

We can wind up the descriptive accounts of the Peacock Throne with some queer remarks about it in *Storia.*

'Aurangzeb,' says Manucci in one place, 'was seated on a throne in shape like a peacock—a marvellous piece of work made by King Shāhjahān but he never had the good fortune to sit on it' (*Storia*, II, 49-50). So the throne was shaped like a peacock, and Shāh Jahān never sat on it! That this is not a slip either of memory or of pen is proved by the following passage :

'Their year commences on the 22nd March, at which time a great festival is held, as I have said (III. 10). The palaces are decked inside and out with high and costly hangings, made by order of Shāhjahān along with the throne, like a peacock, of which I have spoken (II. 34). This is of very great value, and the maker never had the felicity of seating himself upon it. Aurangzeb was the first, who, upon the day of his coronation, had the benefit of ascending this superb seat. It was placed under lofty tents, and he continues to use it on the festival day of which I speak. It is at that time the usage to place on each side of the throne, but a little lower, all the thrones used by the kings of Hindūstān who preceded the present monarch'

(*Storia*, II, 348).

These cock-and-bull stories might be told to the horse-marines. We are quoting them only to illustrate how far a European 'eye-witness' account can sometimes succeed in making itself really ridiculous. We are convinced that Dr. Manucci never had a look at the Peacock Throne. Indeed even if he had heard of it from eye-witnesses he could not have thought that the Throne was shaped like a peacock!

Considering the fame and position of the great Throne it seems at first sight odd that no contemporary painting of it is extant, though there are several false claimants in the field. This is possibly due to the fact that no artist felt he could do anything like justice to his subject if he ventured on it.

Yet we often find 'Shāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne' on frontispieces and dust-covers of books on Mughul History. We can only assume that they are meant to be ornamental, rather than historical, and in some cases perhaps only an advertising device.

Even Mr. Percy Brown describes one of his pictures as "The Emperor Shāh Jahān on the Peacock Throne" (*Indian Painting under the Mughals* A.D. 1550 *to* A.D. 1750, Pl. XXV). Apart from the fact

that the throne here does not correspond to the Peacock Throne in any important particular, Mr. Brown adds under the picture 'Painted c. A.D. 1630', ignoring the fact that the Peacock Throne was not ready until 1635 A.C.

Besides Mr. Brown makes several statements (p. 90) to which I find myself unable to subscribe. These may be dealt with here. He is of opinion that the Peacock Throne was usually placed in the *jharoka* of the Hall of Public Audience in Delhi Fort-palace. Considering the dimensions of the Throne and the *jharoka* this seems to me impossible, as I have said elsewhere. According to the Persian historians whenever the Throne was used in the *Khāṣ-o-'Ām* Hall, it was placed in the centre of the Hall.[1] He says further that 'accurate copies of it [the Peacok Throne] appear in several pictures of the period.' I have found none.

Again, early in Shāh Jahān's reign, he continues, 'the throne was not such an elaborate piece of furniture as that so minutely recorded by Tavernier, who made his inspection in 1655, for some time between these dates twelve golden pillars incrusted with precious stones were introduced to support the canopy, and several other expensive structural features added. But in many respects the picture here

1. See pp. 65-71 below.

presented tallied with the French jeweller's account.' The year 1655 is probably a misprint for 1665, when Tavernier inspected the contents of Aurangzeb's treasury. But there is no necessity to assume that twelve pillars were at any time substituted for eight; for, as the reader has seen, *B.N. Mulakhkhaṣ* and Burhānu'd-Dīn all give the Throne twelve columns at the outset, and so does Tavernier. So Tavernier need not be defended by any such hypothesis. But the most curious thing is that the throne in the picture which Mr. Brown is discussing has neither twelve pillars nor eight, but only four! And he still calls it the Peacock Throne.

In the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have a picture (No. J, 106) of Shāh Jahān holding a durbar, which is supposed to be his first sitting on the Peacock Throne. This picture is stated to be a photograph of a page of *B.N.* MS. in the Oriental Public Library at Bankipore. It is presumably Illustration No. 8 of MS. No. 566 (*Pādishāh Nāma*) *ff*. 241*b*-242*a* (*Catalogue*, VII, 74). The MS. was probably copied in the eighteenth century.

The text of *B.N.*, which accompanies the picture, would seem to suggest that at least the writer or transcriber of this book believed the picture to portray Shāh Jahān's first sitting on the Peacock Throne.

The base of the throne is not visible. It has twelve columns and twelve window openings. But there are no peacocks to be seen; and in other particulars the throne does not correspond to the standard descriptions.[1]

Nor is this the only picture of the kind. In fact we have several pitures more or less closely resembling it. We need only cite

(1) No. H, 63 of the same Museum "Shāh Jahān in Darbar," which is not a photograph, and where the Emperor and the courtiers are named. A faded or unfinished picture.

(2) Exhibit No. B-80 of the Central Museum, Lahore, in which there is a single bird at the top centre.

(3) Illustr. No. 10 in one of the issues of the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* (No. of issue not available), where the picture is wrongly described as the durbar of Jahāṇgīr. It resembles more closely the Lahore Museum picture mentioned above.

But we can explore another avenue.

It stands to the credit of the designers of the great Throne that several duplicates of Shāh Jahān's masterpiece were made in cheaper material. It is

1. Mr. Hodivala has suggested to me that the artist probably never saw the throne, and just constructed this picture out of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd's description. I agree with him.

said that Akbar II (or Bahādur Shāh II ?) had a replica made. A picture in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology (no number allotted to it) claims to portray this copy. We have no means of finding out whether this throne was made from some existing plans or drawings of the Peacock Throne, or only from memory ; nor have we any information about the date of this painting. Another copy exists in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (No. 14524).

This picture corresponds so closely to the description of the original throne in *B.N.* and *A.S.* that we consider it as close an approach to the appearance of the great Throne as is available to-day.

But things have so conspired against all chances of clear evidence on the subject that there is yet another throne given on Pl. LXVIII (*b*) of *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities*, *Coronation Durbar*, 1911, which also claims to be the Peacock Throne of Akbar II (or Bahādur Shāh II ?), and this is the throne, it is added, which was taken to the Residency when Akbar II paid his return visit to the Governor-General there (P. 152). It is a close throne with a rather high base like the base of a flower, and a domed roof. It stands on four feet, and has eight window openings the sills of seven of which are fitted with panels, the eighth being left open forentry. The centre one of these seven panels (the remotest from

the observer) is more elaborate than the rest, and a small umbrella is fixed over it. The base is rather of an unusual shape, and the entire appearance is altogether peculiar.

The contention that this throne was a copy of the Peacock Throne cannot be entertained for a moment, as is clear from this description. It can only represent just one of the thrones in the Delhi treasury in late Mughul time.

Another exhibit (D, 26) in the same Museum claims to be the peacock (of copper, originally gilt) which belonged to the Peacock Throne of Akbar II. The head is missing (*Catalogue*, p. 13).

The second duplicate is said to have been made by Nādir Shāh. About this we know nothing more. It is clear from Lord Curzon's account and the picture given there (*Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 318) that the *Takht-i-Ṭā'ūs* which he saw at Teheran could not by any possibility have been Nādir Shāh's copy of Shāh Jahān's original.

We have the testimony of Bernier for the statement that Aurangzeb, after his accession, wished to make some additions to the Peacock Throne. Aurangzeb, he says, was 'unsuccessful in his demand on *Chah-Jehan* for certain jewels, with which he was desirous of completing a piece of workmanship that he was adding to the celebrated throne, so

universally the object of admiration. The captive Monarch indignantly answered that *Aureng-Zebe* should be careful only to govern the kingdom with more wisdom and equity : he commanded him not to meddle with the throne ; and declared that he would be no more plagued about these jewels, for that hammers were provided to beat them into powder the next time he should be importuned upon the subject' (Bernier, 127).

The following remarks by De Thevenot are so ill-informed in other particulars that we can hardly cite them in corroboration of Bernier's statement. Still we append them for all they are worth : 'And the King his Father [Shāh Jahān] dying in Prison about the end of the year One thousand six hundred sixty-six, he enjoyed at ease the Empire, and that so famous Throne of the *Moguls*, which he had left in the Prisoners apartment to divert him with. He added to the precious Stones that were set about it, those of the Princes his Brothers, and particularly the Jewels of *Begum-Saheb* his Sister, who died after her Father' (De Thevenot, 35). We know that the throne remained at Delhi throughout Shāh Jahān's captivity in Agra fort.

But a better corroboration is available. From a passage in *Ma'āṣiru'l-umarā*, I, 408, it appears that under Aurangzeb's orders a man called Amīnā carried out some additional ornamentation of the

Peacock Throne. Thus the value of the material is said to have exceeded one crore.

Even these descriptions and pictures fail to convey an adequate idea of the effect actually produced by the Peacock Throne on the spectators. To have that idea the reader should visualize the setting in which the Throne was usually placed at the time of a durbar. We give below word-pictures of two or three court-scenes which we would give anything for an opportunity of having been beside to witness.

The first durbar in which the Peacock Throne was used was the occasion when both *'Īdu'l-fiṭr* and *Nauroz* were celebrated together on Friday, the 3rd *Shawwāl*, 1044. Over the courtyard of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* at Agra was spread a huge canopy (*aspak*) of brocaded velvet, which had been prepared in Gujarāt at a cost of one lakh of rupees, and under it were stretched smaller awnings (*sā'ibān*) of the same material on gold and silver poles. The floor was spread with goldworked stuffs and carpets. Here in the centre of the throne-place, round which stood a railing of gold, was placed the newly finished Peacock Thone. In front of it was erected a canopy (*shāmiāna*) of gold-cloth with strings of pearls (prepared by "Yamīnu'd-Daula" Āṣaf Khān at a cost of one lakh) on four gold jewelled poles. Round the Throne hung jewelled umbrellas, covered with

pearls and edged with pearl strings ; while other thrones and chairs, plain and gold-enamelled, and tents (*Khargāh*) of gold-cloth with silver poles stood close by (*b.N.*, I, ii, 77-78 ; *A.S.*, II, 85).

On a Lunar Weighment celebration (Thursday, 1 *Rabī*' II, 1064 *A.H.*) the Peacock Throne was placed in the centre of the *Khāṣ-o-'ām Hall.* In front of it was set up on four jewelled poles a *shāmiāna* decorated with pearls and pearl-strings. On the other three sides of the Throne stood three other *shāmiānas* of gold-worked cloth, each supported on the side of the Throne by poles of pure gold. On either side of the throne-place was set up a jewelled parasol embellished with pearls (*B.N.*, III, *f.* 86*b*).

On the New Year's Day celebrations, a month later, the durbar was held in *Shāh Maḥal*, in the centre of which the Peacock Throne with a canopy frilled with pearls was deposited, two gold-enamelled thrones being placed on each side of it, each one of these thrones fitted with a *chatr* (*B.N.*, III, *f.* 88*a*).

Two thrones placed on the flanks of the Throne occupied by the Emperor seems henceforward to become a favourite arrangement. So also the parasols.

And so on to Aurangzeb's time.

In the following account of Aurangzeb's coronation the reader will find an arrangement with which

he is already familiar.

From '*Ālamgīrnāma* (pp. 351-53) we learn that on the occasion of Aurangzeb's Second Coronation (*Sunday*, 24 *Ramaẓān*, 1069 *A.H.*) a square spot was prepared in the centre of the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-'ām*, and a gold railing was placed round it. Here was deposited the Peacock Throne. In front of it was erected on four jewelled poles a pearl-studded canopy (or awning) the skirt of which had a frill of valuable pearls. On either side of the square throne-place was set up a jewelled *chatr* strung with pearls. On both sides of the great Throne were deposited two gold-enamelled thrones. Behind the Throne were placed stools of gold, on which was set out the *Qūr-i-khāṣṣa*, which consisted of begemmed swords with jewelled *pardalas*, shields; and *barchhas* (lances) set with valuable stones.

In the *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ* or *ghusalkhāna* a small jewelled and enamelled throne, which belonged to this place, was deposited in front of the Hall, while a large octagonal gold throne, which was furnished with roof, was placed in the centre of the Hall. In the rooms skirting the courtyard of this Hall were displayed on gold and silver stools, vessels and utensils of gold and silver in the customary manner.

There seems to be a conflict of opinion as to where the Peacock Throne was placed at the time of

an audience. Bernier,[1] Tavernier,[2] and the author of *Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāḥ*[3] place it in the Hall of Public Audience, while Von Orlich[4] assigns it to the Hall of Private Audience. The difference, however, is immaterial.

Bernier and Tavernier may be noticed a little more fully. On festive occasions Bernier saw Aurangzeb seated on the Peacock Throne 'at the end of the great hall [Hall of Public Audience]' (P. 268). In another place he says that in the *jharoka* 'the Monarch every day, about noon, sits upon his throne, with some of his sons at his right and left' (P. 261). This latter refers to the daily audiences, and the throne mentioned is not the Peacock Throne, which could not be accommodated in the *jharoka*, and which, besides, was used on grand occasions only. Again, speaking of the Hall of Private Audience, Bernier says, 'It is in this place that the King, seated in a chair, his *Omrahs* standing around him, grants more private audiences to his officers, receives their reports, and deliberates on important affairs of state' (P. 265). This was another small throne, more like a chair, possibly the 'small jewelled and enamelled throne,' which, accor-

1. P. 268.
2. I, 303.
3. P.U.L. MS., *f.* 60 *a*.
4. *Travels in India* (Tr. Lloyd, London, 1845), II, 24.

ding to *'Ālamgīrnāma*, belonged to the Khāṣ Hall.[1]

Tavernier says the Peacock Throne was 'placed in the hall of the first court [the *Khāṣ-o-'ām* hall]' (P. 303).

But when we come to the Persian histories we have no difficulty at all in determining where the Peacock Throne was placed at durbar time :

We have already seen where the Peacock Throne was placed in the durbars of 1044 and 1064.

To these we may add the following:

On Thursday, the 24th *Zū'l-ḥijja*, 1056 (Solar Weighment), the Throne was placed in *Daulat-khāna-i-khāṣ* at Agra.[2]

Next after this the Emperor is said to have sat on a 'jewelled throne' in the centre of the *khāṣ-o-'ām* hall in the Delhi fort-palace, on the occasion of the first durbar at Delhi held on Tuesday, 24 *Rabī'* I, 1058 *A.H.*[3] This, however, cannot be the Peacock Throne since we learn later[4] that the Peacock Throne did not come to Delhi until 1 *Rabī'* I, 1060 *A.H.*

On the occasion of New Year's Day, which fell on Monday, 18 *Rabī'* I, 1060, the Emperor, who was at Delhi, ordered Siyādat Khān that he, with the sons of Islām Khān and a few others, should go to

1. See p. 68 above.
2. *B.N.*, II, 626.
3. *B.N.*, III, *f.* 18 *a-b*.
4. See below.

Agra and fetch the Peacock Throne. On the 1st of *Rabī'* I, these gentlemen arrived at Delhi with the Throne. On the 18th the Emperor sat on it, which was placed in *Daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ-o-'ām* (*B.N.*, III, 41*b*).

On two Lunar Weighments, which fell on 9 *Rabī'* II, 1063[1] and 1 *Rabī'* II, 1064,[2] the Peacock Throne was deposited in the centre of the *Khāṣ-o-'ām* Hall.

After this there appears to have been a uniform practice of sitting on the Peacock Throne in *Shāh Mahal*; for we know that the Emperor did so on Friday, 3 *Jumādá* I, 1064 (N.Y.D.),[3] Tuesday, 10 *Rabī'*I, 1065 (Solar Weighment),[4] Monday, 20 *Rabī'* II, 1065 (Lunar Weighment),[5] Sunday, 12 *Jumādá* I, 1065 (*Naurūz*),[6] Monday, 24 *Rabī'* I, 1066 (Solar Weighment),[7] Saturday, 1 *Rabī'* II, 1066 (Lunar Weighment),[8] Monday, 23 *Jumādà* I, 1066 (N.Y.D),[9] 4 *Rabī'* II, 1067 (Solar Weighment),[10] and Saturday, 19 *Rabī'* II, 1067 (Lunar

1. *B.N.*, III, *f.* 74 *b*.
2. *B.N.*, III, *f.* 86 *b* (already given in detail).
3. *B.N.*, III, 88 *a* (already dealt with in full).
4. *B.N.*, III, 96 *a-b*.
5. *B.N.*, III, *f.* 97 *a*.
6. *B.N.*, III, 98 *b* top.
7. *B.N.*, III, 104 *a*.
8. *B.N.*, III, 105 *b*-106 *a*.
9. *B.N.*, III, 108 *a*.
10. *B.N.*, III, 120 *b*.

Weighment).[1]

The above information, the reader is warned, is based on the assumption that wherever 'jewelled throne' is mentioned in the histories the Peacock Throne is meant.

Aurangzeb's histories do not offer much material of interest. What little there is, is found only in *Ālamgīrnāma*, the narrative of the *Ma'āṣir* being too hurried and crowded to notice such leisurely details. An account of Aurangzeb's coronation durbar has already been placed before the reader. The practice on the biannual weighments during the first ten years of this reign seems to be that the actual weighment took place in the *ghusalkhāna* or *daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ*, and this was followed by a durbar in the same place. Then a little later a bigger court was held in the *khāṣ-o-'ām* hall, where the Emperor sat on the 'jewelled throne' (presumably the Peacock Throne). The reader is referred to '*Ālamgīrnāma*, pp. 591, 613, 633, 738, 916, etc.

Later History.—The Peacock Throne remained in India until 1739, when Nādir Shāh's hordes over-ran northern India and sacked the capital. He took it away with him with other spoil to Persia. Later history of the Throne is, from the point of view of Indian history, unimportant. It had long been thought that the famous Throne still existed in

1. *B.N.*, III, 121*b*.

Persia, and was to be seen at Teheran.

After Lord Curzon's inquiries and research, however, it is considered established that the Peacock Throne which he saw at the end of the new Museum in the palace at Teheran is not the Peacock Throne which Nādir Shāh carried off from Delhi and that the latter was broken up long ago.

We are not concerned with this Teheran throne; but if the reader is curious as to its provenance and construction he will find full details set forth with sources and authorities in Lord Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*, I, 320-22.

All the other thrones carried off from Delhi by Nādir Shāh suffered the same fate as Shāh Jahān's Peacock Throne. We are told by Hanway that Nādir Shāh carried off from India nine other thrones besides the Peacock Throne (*Travels*, II, 383). Some of these we have no doubt reviewed in our survey.

Aurangzeb

Before embarking on Aurangzeb's thrones we may mention one which belongs really to Shāh Jahān's time. It appears that towards the end of Shāh Jahān's reign 'Alī Mardān Khān was preparing a small jewelled throne for the Emperor. Before it could be completed 'Alī Mardān Khān died (12 *Rajab*, 1067). A few months later the sudden illness of Shāh Jahān spread consternation in the empire, and the war of

succession broke out. As soon as peace was restored, Aurangzeb ordered the throne to be completed in his own Jewellers' department. When finished, it was deposited in the *dīwān-i-khāṣ*, where a small enamelled throne[1] had stood before. On 9th *Zu'l-ḥijj* the Emperor sat on it for the first time. Ilāh Qulī Beg, the *dārogha* of the Jewellers' establishment, received his weight in silver, which amounted in value to 6,500 rupees, as a reward for good work done (*Al.N.* 439). The historian says nothing about anything being bestowed on 'Alī Mardān Khān's sons in recognition of this valuable present, which was annexed rather than accepted.

Now we can enter on Aurangzeb's reign proper.

We have not much record of thrones or chairs designed or built to Aurangzeb's order. Therefore, in the notices that follow, it will be difficult to say how many of the thrones mentioned here have already been reviewed under Jahāṇgīr and Shāh Jahān, and which of them, if any, were prepared in this reign.

We can lead off with Tavernier's description of a throne, which he saw in actual use at the time of one of Aurangzeb's durbars.

'In the middle of this hall [of Public Audience], and near the side overlooking the court, as in a

1. Perhaps this is the 'small jewelled and enamelled throne' mentioned on p. 68.

theatre, they place the throne when the Emperor comes to give audience and administer justice. It is a small bed of the size of our camp beds, with its four columns, the canopy, the back, a bolster, and counterpane; all of which are covered with diamonds.

When the Emperor takes his seat, however, they spread on the bed a cover of gold brocade, or of some other rich quilted stuff, and he ascends it by three small steps of two feet in length. On one side of the bed there is a parasol elevated on a handle of the length of a short pike, and to each column of the bed one of the Emperor's weapons is attached, to one his shield, to another his sword, next his bow, his quiver, and arrows, and other things of that kind' (I, 80-81).

On the occasion of the wedding of Prince Muhammad A'ẕam, Aurangzeb visited his residence on 17 Sha'bān, 1079 *A.H.* There he sat on a gold throne (*Ma'āṣir-i-'Ālamgīrī*, 79, top). When the emperor visited any of his subjects apparently some of the minor thrones moved with him; and of course they were carried about in camp.

On Pl. L (b) of *Loan Exhibition of Antiquities* the reader can see Aurangzeb sitting on a graceful little throne with a high back, the usual umbrella over his head, princes, ministers and attendants round him.

In No. H, 169 (Delhi Museum of Archaeology) we see Aurangzeb on a gold jewelled throne, square in shape, with four legs and a high back. But there is no umbrella over him. The decoration is in good taste, and is well represented in the picture.

Wooden Throne

We have on Pl. 48 of *Indische Miniaturen der islamischen Zeit* an excellent picture of Aurangzeb sitting on a throne of ebony and reading the *Qur'ān.*

The Later Mughuls

On Pl. XIX of *Storia* (Vol. II) we find Sulṭān Mu'izzu'd-Dīn, eldest son of Shāh 'Ālam, sitting on a square, four-legged, high-backed, jewelled throne. The usual umbrella is held over him.

Sulṭān 'Aẓīmu'd-Dīn, second son of Shāh 'Ālam, is likewise seen sitting on a throne on Pl. XX (*Storia*, II). The square throne stands on four legs and has a back. The usual umbrella is held over the Prince's head.

In H. 75 (Delhi Museum of Archaeology) we see Jahāndār Shāh (1712-13) sitting on a throne, with four legs and a back, to which an umbrella is fixed.

On Pl. LIX of *L.E.A.* we see Nādir Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh sitting on a single throne in a moonlight assembly in the Seraglio. The throne,

which is not the Peacock Throne, has four legs and a canopy standing on four columns. Over it is stretched a tent on eight poles.

In No. H, 80 of Delhi Museum of Archaeology we see Aḥmad S͟hāh (1748-54) sitting on a gold throne, hexagonal in shape, with six rather heavy legs and a high back. The courtiers are named and additional details given in the margin. The picture is faded and worn.

On Pl. LVI (a) we see the Emperor 'Ālamgīr II (1754-59 *A.C.*) sitting on a jewelled throne under a canopy. As Nādir S͟hāh had carried off all the valuable thrones in 1739, this throne and the last one were probably made after that date, presumably with cheap material. The same applies to those that follow.

In H, 83 of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we see S͟hāh 'Ālam II (1759-1806) sitting on a gold throne, plain and simple. It is square in shape and fitted with four feet and a back.

H, 86 is Akbar II (1806-37) sitting on a rather spacious throne—a square seat, with four thick legs, a footstool and a high back, with an umbrella fixed to it. Ornamentation is spare.

CHAIRS

Chairs—modern arm-chairs—seem to have been in use since Tīmūr's time.

On Pl. 44 of N. C. Mehta's *Studies in Indian Painting*, we see Tīmūr sitting in a chair, with an umbrella over him.

In two pictures in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology we have Tīmūr sitting in the same chair as in the picture last mentioned. In one (bearing no number, being a recent acquisition) we see the *Amīr* sitting in the chair, lance in hand, umbrella over head. It is a finely executed and brilliantly coloured piece of art. The other is No. H, 44, which is a defective, and quite inferior, piece of workmanship.

In H, 193 (same Museum) we have Tīmūr again sitting in a chair with a large canopy erected over him. The ruler of Bukhārā is brought before him as a prisoner. Here the chair is different from the one in the preceding pictures.

In Stchoukine (*La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. XXXIV) we see Jahāṇgir sitting in an elaborately jewelled chair.

On the Frontispiece of *Storia*, II, we have Aurangzeb sitting in a jewelled chair. It is a light, tastefully constructed piece of furniture, for use on informal occasions.

Among pictures of nobles we have one of Sa'dulla Khān, Shāh Jahān's Prime Minister, holding court. Sa'dulla Khān is seated in an arm-chair, administering justice. The railing and the double

Shāmiāna overhead are interesting details (I. Stchoukine, *La Peinture Indienne*, Pl. LV).

On Pl. XXXII of Binyon's *Court Painters*, we find Fākhir Khān, a noble of Shāh Jahān's time, sitting in a chair.

The Later Mughuls

Chairs seem to have been in common use in later Mughul times. We see the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam sitting in a rather high arm-chair, on Pl. XLIV (d) of *L.E.A.* Similarly the reader can see Mīrzā Salīm, s/o Akbar II, sitting in an arm-chair, smoking a hookah, on Pl. XXX (c). Another arm-chair, belonging to the Delhi Palace, which is carved and gilded, can be seen on Pl. XV (c).

CHAPTER II

TENTS AND THEIR FURNISHINGS

There is a whole class of court and household furniture, which stands by itself. It is distinguished from the rest by the fact that it is made almost entirely of textile fabrics. We mean tents, carpets, curtains and the like. Naturally enough tents occupy the first place here.

The origin of the tent, as of so many other things, is to be traced to the Mongols of Central Asia, who were essentially nomads, and whose real home was the tent. And the Mughul Indian camp was derived lineally—with necessary modifications, no doubt—from Tīmūr's camp.

Tīmūr

So it is natural that in the matter of Tents and their furnishings Tīmūr should lead the way. Just as Shāh Jahān is pre-eminent in buildings and monuments, so is Tīmūr distinguished among the rulers of the world for the size and quality of the tents, canopies, tent walls, etc. used in his time. The reader who doubts it has only to read the elaborate account of tents of all kinds and their appurtenances in Clavijo's *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*. But of this presently.

Generally speaking, the Persian histories are silent on the subject. Only a few items are available from *Ẓafar Nāma*, which we give below.

In *Ẓafar Nāma*, we hear, now and again, of a tent (*khema*) and *khargāh* passing as a present or offering in Tīmūr's time (II, 34, 532, 533).

On the occasion of the marriage of Bekīsī Sulṭān with Amīrzāda Iskandar, which was celebrated in the meadow of Kānkul on the outskirts of Samarqand, twenty *sarāpardas* were erected round an extensive plain and many lofty *bārgāhs* profusely set with gems and pearls were set up (*Ibid.*, II, 2).

Amīr Shaikh Nūru'd-Dīn, whom Tīmūr had sent to Persia to take charge of stores and treasures there, came back from Shīrāz and brought an enormous quantity of spoils—birds of prey and leopards, cash and gold and jewels, costly stuffs and arms, horses, camels and mules, *chatars* (umbrellas), *sarāpardas*, *bārgāhs*, tents and *khargāhs*, all of scarlet cloth of various colours[1]—the inventory of which took three days and nights to prepare (*Ibid.*, II, 35).

On the occasion of the weddings of five princes at Kān-i-gil (Sunday, 1 *Rabī'* I, 807 A.H.) an extensive plain was enclosed for Tīmūr's camp by four *sarāpardas*, within which a *khargāh* of 200 poles

1. So it appears that scarlet cloth was not always red.

(*duwīs:-sari*) was erected, and a tent of twelve columns[1], the outside of which was of scarlet of many colours, and inside of velvet of many colours likewise, was set up by means of silken cords and painted poles mounted with golden bowls (*qafīz*), which took a swarm of *farrāshes* a whole week to pitch. It could shelter 10,000 people.

Every one of the princes and nobles had a *sarāparda*, a *bārgāh*, a tent and a *khargāh* to himself. And rulers and chieftains came from all parts of the country and pitched their camps according to their degree (*Ibid.*, II, 602-3).

This is all that Sharafu'd-Dīn has to say on the subject. But we get no adequate idea of the grand doings which were going on at Samarqand at this time, for which we shall have to look elsewhere. The fact is that visual imagery is not a strong point with the Persian historians, who take so much for granted, and attend more to events than to things. If we want a graphic or vivid picture of the tents and their fittings and equipments, and of the furniture which was used in them, we must turn to European travellers.

Luckily we *have* a European traveller, who combines accurate observation with a fair degree of

1. From this and from another passage lower down (on p. 616) it appears that *duwāzda pāya* (or *pāy*) (lit., with twelve columns or piers) was the name by which Tīmūr's audience-tent was known.

descriptive power. His name is Clavijo, who was at the head of the Spanish Embassy, which visited the court of Tīmūr in 1403-04.

The Spanish ambassadors visited Tīmūr's camp at a time when, after a series of successive conquests to which the world's history can offer no parallel, his empire was at its zenith, and Asia lay prostrate before him. The spoils of Turkey, Persia and India had found their way to Samarqand, where artisans and architects imported from India were busy building and decorating palaces which were to furnish a befitting home for the treasures. The first four years of the fifteenth century, which were the last four years of Tīmūr's life, were the palmiest days of Samarqand; and Clavijo's account of Tīmūr's court, his camp and palaces, relates to this period.

This was also a time of great festivities, for five of Tīmūr's grandsons were being wedded, and the growing wealth and prosperity of the empire found in it a fit occasion for display. Further, ambassadors from Spain, Egypt and China were being given audiences and entertainments in the midst of impressive ceremonies. So, if a European observer was to visit the scene and record his observations and experiences, one could wish for no better date for his advent.

We can now take up Clavijo's account of the

tents in Tīmūr's camp, which was the prototype on which the fittings and dispositions of the Mughul Indian camp were, with modifications, modelled.

He relates as follows :—

All the chiefs of the clans had been ordered to attend the celebrations, and the great plain through which the Zarafshān flows was selected as the place where the great Horde was to set up its tents.

Tīmūr's special camp which was a marvel of the age was placed in the centre, and round about it Clavijo saw some 20,000 tents of the great Horde pitched in regular streets. But more clans were coming in, he says.[1]

Writing on a later date, Clavijo says: "Thus in this Horde where his Highness was now present there might be reckoned to be from forty to fifty thousand tents, a most magnificent sight to see, while beyond the limits of the Horde in the meadows around were pitched many other tents, each in its orchard or garden, and these grounds all well watered by the streams that flowed everywhere through the countryside round and about Samarqand".[2]

These huge numbers seem incredible, but we must remember that besides Tīmūr's own army proper, which was directly under him, there were

1. Clavijo, pp. 233-34.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74.

certain auxiliaries levied from various tribes serving under their own chiefs. As I have said elsewhere[1], there were forty such tribes, out of which twelve were distinguished by the fact that they drew salary (*tamghā*) and received a special treatment.

The subsidiary tents being disposed of, we can now address ourselves to the central show: camps belonging to Tīmūr himself, his queens, and his sons and grandsons.

Clavijo saw as many as eleven enclosures bounded by high *sarāpardas* or canvas walls, each of which contained a large number of tents of various shapes and sizes. They belonged to Tīmūr's queens—the Chief Wife or the Great *Khānum*, the Second Wife or the *Kūchak Khānum*, and the rest—and his sons and grandsons. Later, during the stay of the ambassadors, two more enclosures were set up, presumably to accommodate some of the newly married princes and princesses.

Clavijo's descriptions are so full and detailed that we can only pick and choose as we go, and select only the most striking features:—

The very large and high pavilion in the First Enclosure was profusely decorated. The remarkable features of it were (1) Four eagles sitting with folded

1. Author's *Manṣabdārī System and the Mughul Army*, p. 25, to which place the reader is referred for fuller details.

wings on the four corners of the ceiling. (2) A tall staff capped with an apple of burnished copper outside at each corner, above which was a crescent. In this tent were three daises, on which Tīmūr gave audience (pp. 238-39).

In the Second Enclosure, as in the First, there was a great pavilion. High up in the ceiling of its cupola was a very large eagle in silver gilt with open wings. Below on the tent wall were three falcons in silver-gilt with open wings as if in flight from the eagle, their heads turned back to look at the eagle. The eagle was about to pounce on one of the falcons (pp. 241-42).

Two enclosures which were set up later were for the newly married princes. The tents in these were the most remarkable of all. Clavijo's description (pp. 251-52) is worth quoting in full :—

The tents in these enclosures, he says, 'were even more skilfully wrought' than the previous ones, and 'the stuffs used were more costly'. 'The enclosing wall of each of these that had been newly pitched surpassed in magnificence all that we had yet seen : for this wall was made entirely of crimson tapestry embroidered over with patterns in gold thread that was most marvellously beautiful. The outer walls here were far higher than had been the case with the other Enclosures and each gateway far

more lofty. Each gate was an archway domed above, and crowning the arch was a high centre piece, the stuffs of which both centre piece and arch were made embroidered over with fine patterns in gold thread. The doors closing the gateway were made with the like tapestry also embroidered in gold thread. The centre piece above the gateway consisted of a square tower with battlements, this too made of the same tapestry in all ways similar to that of the rest of the gateway (pp. 251-52).

Clavijo gives extremely interesting details about the articles which he saw here. Unfortunately we have no space for them here. Consequently the reader is referred to Clavijo, pp. 269-70.

Clavijo saw the inside of the tent of the Great Khānum. He was so deeply impressed with the decorations that he says nothing like it was to be seen either in Tartary or in Spain (p. 269). It was here that Clavijo saw a chest or small cabinet, a small gold table, a golden oak-like tree, and screens and couches,[1] which we have given at length in another place.

A curious little item is Tīmūr's movable mosque made entirely of wood, which could be taken to pieces and set up again where wanted. It was ascended by a staircase and surrounded by porticoes

1. Clavijo, pp. 268-70.

on platforms. The woodwork "is beautifully painted in gold and blue pattern."[1] It may be compared with the *Chobīn Rāwatī*[2] of Akbar's time to be noticed presently. But it is different from it in important particulars.

Clavijo describes a large number of tents in great detail. But perhaps the most remarkable of all are the following two which deserve a place of honour:—

(1) A tent, the tent walls of which "were covered with gray squirrel fur" outside and "lined with a more common fur called vair" inside.

(2) Another tent: "The wall outside was made of a red stuff with insets of cloth of other different colours; while inside the walls were lined below with skins of ermine, which is the most precious fur in the whole world and it is that of the great marten. These ermine skins are so prized that if it be of the first quality a single skin here in Tartary will fetch from fourteen to fifteen gold ducats, while in the West with us the price may be much more. The lining in this tent above the ermine was of gray squirrel skin."

"Outside the entrance to this tent" there was an awning which was "lined inside with gray squirrel"[3] (p. 273).

1. Clavijo, p. 272. 2. Blochmann, p. 56.

3. We are reminded of similar tents of Qubla-i-Qa'an described Marco Polo.

Humāyūn

When Gulbadan Begum and party arrived from Kabul and were received by Niẓāmu'd-Dīn 'Alī a few miles out of Agra, she says that a *chādar* of red scarlet lined with Gujarātī brocade[1] and six awnings (*shāmiyāna*) of scarlet and gold cloth, each of a different colour, and four pieces of *sarāparda* of scarlet cloth, their poles all of different colours, were erected on a large raised platform.[2]

On the occasion of the feast given on Humāyūn's return from Chunāda (Chunār), by his mother, Māham Begum, the coverings (*poshish*) of the *khargāhs* and *bārgāh*, which were erected, were of European brocade inside, and Portuguese scarlet outside; and they were supported on gilt poles, and looked very pretty, says Gulbadan Begum. And the outer covering of the *khargāhs* was of gold cloth of Gujarāt; as also the awning and its fly. There were also ewers and basins, candle-sticks, cups and rose-water-sprinklers, all of gold and set with jewels.[3]

Humāyūn, who had a predilection for astrology, invented a tent (*khargāh*) consisting of twelve parts or partitions corresponding to the signs of the

1. As we shall see, Gujarāt and Ahmadābād have been associated, throughout Mughul history, with big tents of brocade and gold-worked velvet of the best quality.

2. *Humāyūn-Nāma*, 18. My own translation.

3. *Ibid.*, 28. My own translation.

Zodiac. This was covered over on all sides by another *khargāh*, likewise invented by Humāyūn, which corresponded to the empyrean.[1]

During Humāyūn's stay in Persia we often hear of *khema* (tent), *khargāh* and *bārgāh* for the royal party, and *chādars* for the ladies.[2]

But fuller details are found in *Akbar Nāma*, to which we will now turn.

On the occasion of the marriage of Prince Hindāl Mīrza (beginning of *Jumādá* I, 940 (November, 1533),[3] Khwāndamīr tells us, canopies of seven colours made of scarlet and European velvet were erected round the Daulat Khāna.[4]

In the order which Shāh Ṭahmāsp of Persia issued to the ruler of Herāt for the reception of Humāyūn, and for his accommodation and entertainment on the way, the Shāh gave elaborate and minute instructions, which form interesting reading and for which the reader is referred to *Akbar Nāma*, I, pp. 207, 209, 212 and 217, where he will find a large number of beautiful tents, awnings, canopies and pavilions, and carpets described in detail. I

1. For a full description of these tents the reader is referred to *A.N.*, I, 361 ; Tr., I, 649; and *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, 68-69 ; Tr., 48-49.

2. *Humāyūn-Nāma*, 69, 73, 86.

3. For this date see f.n. 3 on p. 63 of Mr. Baini Prashad's translation.

4. *Qanūn-i-Humāyūni*, text, 89-90. My own translation. Mr. Baini Prashad's translation (p. 65) is not satisfactory.

refrain from a fuller notice as the facts, strictly speaking, belong rather to Persian, than to Indian, history

Akbar

The most systematic account of Tents etc. is to be found in Abū'l-Faẓl, who, as usual, is comprehensive, thorough and systematic.

There were various kinds of tents suited to various purposes. Abū'l-Faẓl[1] enumerates and describes the following :—

(1) The *Bārgāh* (Ill. : Blochmann, pl. xi, top) had generally two poles, each fastened with several clamps.[2] A large one could contain more than 10,000 people, and a thousand *farrāshes* could erect it in a week with the help of machines. A plain one cost 10,000 rupees or more. It was used for holding court or giving audiences.

(2) The *Chobin Rawati* (Ill. : pl. xi) was raised from the ground by a plinth. It stood on ten pillars and had either one door or two. The walls and the roof consisted of wattled reeds. 'The inside is ornamented with brocade and velvet, and the outside with scarlet cloth[3] tied to the walls with silk tape' (Blochmann, 56).

1. *Ā'īn*, I, 49-51 ; Blochmann, 55-57.

2. The text has '*āhan-jāma*', which Blochmann translates 'hinges'; but a few lines lower he translates the same word as 'clamps'.

3. Blochmann has 'scarlet-sackcloth' here.

As many as twenty-five *chobīn rāwatīs* were pitched in the royal camp, one for the emperor, twenty-four for the ladies of the Haram (*Ā'īn*, I, 41).

(3) The *Dū-āshiāna Manzil* (Ill. : *Ibid.*) was double-storeyed, as its name signifies. 'It is raised upon eighteen pillars, six yards in height, which support a wooden platform ; and into this, pillars of four cubits in length are fixed with bolt and nuts, forming an upper storey. The inside and outside are ornamented, as in the preceding.' Akbar used this tent on the journeys as his sleeping apartment, and also for his devotions. After the prayers, women were allowed to enter, and then outsiders. It was also used as a *jharoka*.

(4) The *Zamīndoz* (Ill. : *Ibid.*) is the plain tent for servants and offices, sometimes with one, sometimes with two, poles.

(5) The *'Ajā'ibī* (Ill. : pl. xi, bottom right) 'consists of nine awnings on four pillars. Five of the awnings are square, and four tapering ; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, and four taperings ; sometimes they make it so as to contain one division only, supported by a single pole' (Blochmann, 56).

(6) The *Mandal* (Ill. : pl. xi, bottom left) 'is composed of five awnings joined together, and is

supported by four poles. Four of the awnings are let down so as to form a private room ; sometimes all four are drawn up, or one side only is left open' (Blochmann, *ibid.*)

(7) The *Āṭh-khamba*, so called because it was supported by eight poles, 'consists of seventeen awnings, sometimes separate, sometimes joined together' (Blochmann, 56-57).

(8) The *Khargāh* (Ill. : pl. x, top). Some have one, some have two, doors.

(9) The *Shāmiyāna* (Ill. : *Ibid.*), never measuring more than twelve yards square.

(10) The *Namgīra* (lit. dew-catcher), a simple canopy on four poles. The reader can see it fitted with carpet, pillow and cushions, all ready for use, on pl. x, bottom. In the royal camp the *namgīra* was pitched on a platform, and the emperor sat there in the evening (*Ā'īn*, I, 41-42).

The above are tents properly so called. In addition we have the following accessories :

(1) The *Qalandarī*, made of wax cloth, or some lighter material, was spread over the roof of the *bārgāh* for protection against sun and rain (*Ibid.*, p. 42).

(2) The *Sarāparda* or tent-wall (Ill. : pl. x),

previously made of coarse canvas (*ābafta*)[1], was, in Akbar's time, made of carpeting (*gilīm*). It was used for making enclosures, which, as we shall see, often included many tents.

The *Gulālbār* (III. : *Ibid.*) 'is a wooden screen, its parts being fastened together, like the walls of the Kh*argāh*, with leather straps, so that it can be folded together when the camp breaks up. The *gulālbār* is covered with red cloth, tied with tape' (Blochmann, 57). In Akbar's time the *gulālbār* encircled a grand enclosure never less than 100 yards square, and had strong doors secured with locks and keys (*Ā'īn*, I, 41).

The actual disposition of these tents and tent walls in the Royal Camp will be dealt with when we come to describe the Mughul Camp. For the present these details are sufficient.

We are told by Budāyūnī that on the *Nauroz* of XXX R.Y.[2] (8 *Rabī'* I, 992) there were great festivities, and *pīlān*, which, he says, is a *chādar*[3] shaped like a dome, and is the invention of Europeans, was set up (II, 338). The translator remarks that *pīlān* is from Portuguese *Pavelhão*, a pavilion (Tr., II, 348, f.n. 9).

1. *Ābafta* is 'a kind of coarse cloth' (Steingass).
2. According to *A.N.* (III, 431), it should be XXIX R.Y.
3. A *chādar*, according to Steingass, is 'a tent, pavilion.'

Jahāngīr

As the reader can easily imagine, the *sarāparda* was extensively used at a hunting party, specially when it was a *qamarg͟ha* hunt (battue). On Thursday, the 22nd *Āẓar*, VI R.Y., Jahāngīr went out to Samūngar to hunt antelope. On that occasion, we are told, ground measuring 1½ *karoh* (square ?) was enclosed by *sarāparda* and *gulālbāṛ* (*Tūzuk*, 99).

The reader need not imagine that these tents were used only when the emperor was in camp. On the other hand, they were commonly used in the open places in the royal palace at Agra or Delhi. More particularly, on the occasion of a durbar, a *bārgāh* and several *s͟hāmiyānas* were pitched in the courtyard of the Public Audience Hall; and the sides of the courtyard were hung with European curtains, figured brocades and other rare stuffs.[1]

S͟hāh Jahān

In this reign, as one would expect, some fine pavilions and canopies were manufactured, which were remarkable alike for size, richness of material, and workmanship. As we shall see, *bārgāhs* and *s͟hāmiyānas* of various sizes were used on the yearly festivals; and new ones of fresh designs were being produced and presented. They mostly came from Ahmadabad.

1. See, for instance, *Tūzuk*, 155.

On the first *Nauroz* of this reign, we find that the huge awning known as *Dal-bādal* was stretched over the courtyard of the Hall of Private and Public Audience ; and underneath it was erected the big pavilion (*aspak*) of brocaded velvet, round about which stood several awnings (*shāmiyānas*) of the same material on poles of gold and silver; and carpets of various colours were spread on the floor. The walls and doorways of the Audience Hall itself were decked with gold-worked velvet, European curtains, Turkish and Chinese *dībā* and brocades (*zarbaft*) of Gujarat and Persia (*B.N.*, I, i, 187-88).[1]

The canopy and awnings used on the New Year's Day, 1044, when the Peacock Throne was used for the first time, have already been mentioned under Thrones, to which place the reader will kindly refer.

Nine days later an *aspak* of gold-worked velvet with silver poles gilt, which Sipahdār Khān, Governor of Gujarat, had prepared at Ahmadabad at a cost of one lakh of rupees, was presented to Shāh Jahān (12 *Shawwāl*, 1044).[2] Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ has, for price, 84,000 rupees (*A.Ṣ.*, II, 97).

On the Lunar Weighment festival of 1058 A.H

1. A fuller account of this *Nauroz* celebration will be found in Author's *History of the Reign of Shāh Jahān* : Chapter III "Coronation of Shāh Jahān" (published in *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. VII, Part III).

2. *B.N.*, I, ii, 85.

a *bārgāh* of gold-worked velvet measuring 70×45 yards was erected over the quadrangle of the Public Audience Hall. It stood on four silver poles with a girth of 2¼, and a height of 22 yards. It was prepared at Ahmadabad at a cost of one lakh of rupees, covered 3,200 square yards of ground and sheltered 10,000 men (*B.N.*, III, f. 18*a-b*). How could such a big tent be supported on *four* pillars, however stout? I thought at first 'four' was a mistake for 'forty' or 'forty-four'. But every MS. of *B.N.* and *Mulakhkhaṣ* that I have examined has 'four'. So it must be assumed that there were four main poles, the smaller ones being omitted as insignificant. The reader will please note the thickness and height of these poles.

We possess a still more elaborate account of the tents and decorations fitted up on the Lunar Weighment falling on 9 *Rabī*' II, 1063: A bigger *bārgāh* of brocaded velvet, measuring 96×38 yds., was spread over the quadrangle of the Public Audience Hall. It had been prepared in Gujarat at a cost of 80,000 rupees. It stood on 44 silver poles, which, with the spires, weighed 420,000 tolas, *i.e.*, over 131 maunds of modern weight. So each pole and spire weighed about three maunds.

Round about this *bārgāh* ran a silver balustrade, and gold and coloured carpets were spread on the

floor. And the Public Audience Hall was hung inside and out with curtains of gold-worked and *dah-yak-dozī*[1] velvet ; while awnings of *kalābatūn*[2], which the manufacturers of Ahmadabad had produced at a cost of 1,75,000 rupees, added to the effect. A gold ball (*kaukaba*) was hung in each doorway.

The Peacock Throne was placed in the Hall, as has been described under Thrones.

nI the quadrangle, under the *bārgāh*, various silver (?) *khargāhs*, covered with scarlet (one-tenth of which was worked in gold), were set up side by side ; and an awning was erected before each of the rooms around the quadrangle (*B.N.*, III, f. 74*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 159-60).

On the next Lunar Weighment (1 *Rabī*' II, 1064) similar arrangements were made and the same or similar tents were used, judging from the sizes and the prices given, which show a rough correspondence. The *bārgāh*, we are told, was made of *bādla-bāf*[3] velvet (*B.N.*, III, f. 86*b* ; *A.S.*, III, 181-82).

1. That is, one-tenth of which was covered with embroidery.

2. *Kalābatūn* is 'silk thread covered with gold or silver ; silk and silver (or gold) thread twisted together ; gold or silver thread' (Platts).

3. *Badla*, according to Platts, is 'gold or silver cloth, brocade of silken stuff variegated (*lappa*) ; gold or silver thread'.

The Lunar Weighment of 1065 (20 *Rabī*' II) was held in the smaller courtyard of Shāh Maḥal, where a *shāmiyāna* of brocaded velvet worked in *kalābattūn*, measuring 43×32 yds., was erected. This was also an Ahmadabad product, and had cost 50,000 rupees. Its poles with spires weighed 50,000 tolas or 15 maunds 25 seers (modern weight). A silver railing skirted the courtyard, and in the doorways of Shāh Maḥal jewelled and enamelled *kaukabas* hung by gold chains. Curtains of gold-worked and silk-embroidered velvet were hung on the walls of Shah Maḥal, and carpets of various kinds were spread on the floor. In the centre of the Hall was placed the throne with the usual accompaniments already described.

The rooms round about this hall and those round the courtyard of the Hall of Private Audience and others were draped in gold-worked and embroidered velvets, and spread with beautiful carpets, woollen and other (*B.N.*, III, f. 97*a*).

On the Solar Weighment of 1066 (24 *Rabī*' I) both the Hall of Public Audience and the Shāh Maḥal (with its courtyard) were decked out with greater splendour than ever before. The former was draped with costly stuffs and fitted with canopies as usual, *kaukabas* were hung, and a silver railing ran round it, while golden braziers warmed the assembly

and perfumed the air.

The emperor first held a durbar in the Public Audience Hall, and then moved into the Shāh Maḥal, which had been dressed up as on the occasion last described, a luxurious *shāmiyāna* being erected in the courtyard richly furnished likewise. This *shāmiyāna* was bigger than the last, as its poles and their spires weighed one lakh tolas or over 31 maunds (modern weight). Three thrones and two *chatrs* were placed in the centre of the Shāh Maḥal in an arrangement well-known to the reader (*Ibid.*, f. 104*a-b*).

The red tent was the prerogative of the emperor and the first princes of the blood. We are told in one place that this privilege was bestowed on Prince Sulaimān Shukoh as an honour, when he was appointed governor of Kābul (*B.N.*, III, f. 68*b*).

The more important tents have been described by a writer, in whose observation and accuracy we have implicit faith. The external appearance and internal fittings with the floorings are thus described by Bernier, who, in the main, corroborates Abū'l-Faẓl's description already placed before the reader. The French traveller is describing the Royal Camp:

'The *Am-kas*, and the five or six other principal tents, are elevated above the rest, as well for the sake of keeping off the heat as that they may be

distinguished at a distance. The outside is covered with a strong and coarse red cloth, ornamented with large and variegated stripes ; but the inside is lined with beautiful hand-painted chintz, manufactured for the purpose at *Masulipatam*, the ornamentation of which is set off by rich figured satin of various colours, or embroideries of silk, silver, and gold, with deep and elegant fringes. Cotton mats, three or four inches in thickness,[1] are spread over the whole floor, and these again are covered with a splendid carpet, on which are placed large square brocade cushions to lean upon. The tents are supported by painted and gilt pillars.

In each of the two tents wherein the King and nobility meet for deliberation is erected a stage, which is most sumptuously adorned, and the King gives audience under a spacious canopy of velvet or flowered silk'.

The *kh̲argāh* is thus described : 'The other tents', he continues, 'have similar canopies, and they also contain what are called *karguais* or cabinets, the little doors of which are secured with silver padlocks. You may form some idea of them by picturing to yourself two small squares of our folding screens, the one placed on the other, and both tied round with a silken cord in such a manner

1. This is the modern *darī*; but note the thickness, which is nearly incredible.

that the extremities of the sides of the upper square incline towards each other so as to form a kind of dome. There is this difference, however, between the *karguais* and our screens, that all their sides are composed of very thin and light deal boards painted and gilt on the outside, and embellished around with gold and silk fringe. The inside is lined with scarlet, flowered satin, or brocade' (p. 362).

So we learn that the walls of the *khargāh* were made of thin wooden boards—a point slightly referred to by Abū'l-Faẓl, but ambiguously expressed.[1]

Sometimes defeated foreign rulers or princes came to the Mughul court for help or refuge—often in reduced circumstances and with poor or no equipage. In these cases tents and mounts, conveyances and furniture, were sent to them as soon as they entered Mughul territory; so that by the time they reached the court, their condition was transformed into something decent and presentable. An example will suffice to give an idea.

In 1056, Shāh Jahān was at Kabul, and the expedition of Balkh and Badakhshān was in progress. Khusrau, the second son of Nazr Muḥammad Khān, reduced to extremity by his enemies, decided to seek refuge at the Mughul court.

1. See his description of *gulāl-bāṛ*.

On the way, he met Prince Murād Bakhsh, who offered him a jewelled *Jamdhar*, some fine stuffs, and horses and elephants from himself, and 50,000 rupees from the emperor ; while 'Alī Mardān Khān "Amīru'l-Umarā" presented, on his own behalf, seven horses and seven sets of nine pieces of cloth (*tuqūz*). Marḥamat Khān, who had been sent to escort the refugee prince to the court, and to instruct him in court procedure and etiquette, took to him, besides a letter of reassurance from the emperor, four saddled horses (one, an Arab, with gold saddle), 20 sets of rare Indian stuffs (each of nine pieces), a *pālkī*, 4 *ḍolīs* (with silver poles and velvet drapery) for the ladies, and two complete sets of tents (*peshkhāna*). And, after obtaining audience, he received a *khāṣṣa* robe of honour with elaborately gold-worked *chārqab*, a jewelled aigrette, a jewelled dagger with *phūl-kaṭāra*, a jewelled sword and shield with jewelled fittings, *manṣab* of 6,000/2,000, a *khāṣṣa* elephant with silver furniture and a housing of brocade velvet, a she-elephant with a silver *hauda*, and 50,000 rupees in cash. He was put up in the house belonging to Khān Daurān Bahādur "Nuṣrat Jang", which had been completely furnished down to kitchen utensils of silver (*B.N.*, II, 518-20 ; *A.S.*, II, 476-78).

Aurangzeb

On the Second Coronation of Aurangzeb a *shādurwān* of brocaded velvet was spread over the courtyard of the Hall of Public Audience on silver poles (*Al. N.*, 352).[1] This *shādurwān* seems to be the same thing as, or something similar to, the *dal-bādal* of Shāh Jahān's time.[2]

We may be sure that tents of certain definite types and fittings were allotted to the various princes and nobles according to their rank and degree ; and this gradation and precedence was as strictly observed here as in other spheres. We are told in *'Ālamgīr Nāma*, for instance, that Prince Buland Akhtar, who had hitherto enjoyed a *sarācha* and an *aspak*, was degraded, and could henceforth use only a *tambū* with *qalandarī*, and a *qanāt* (p. 493). A *tambū*—a word in common use today—was probably an ordinary kind of tent ; and *qanāt*—another well-known word today—probably a lowly substitute for a *sarāparda*. We have, by the way, a poem by Sanjar Kāshī (a poet of Akbar's time), in which he complains eloquently of a small and poor *tambū* given him, and asks for a better one (*Oriental College Magazine* for November, 1927, p. 111).

1. A fuller account of this has been given in Chapter I.

2. *Ghiyāṣu'l-Lughāt* alone, of all the dictionaries that I have consulted, gives this sense, and besides gives all the meanings given singly in the other dictionaries.

CHAPTER III

CARPETS AND FLOOR-CLOTHS

Here we may include carpet, *gilīm* (carpet without a pile), *namad takya*, *shatranjī*, *jājim*[1] and the rest. Strangely enough Abūl'-Fazl deals with the subject under *gilīm*, which he takes apparently to include all woollen floor-cloths. He tells us that there are carpet factories in all big towns, notably at Agra, Fatḥpūr and Lahore. 'In the imperial workshops single *gilīms* are made 20 *gaz* 7 *ṭassūjes* long, and 6 *gaz* 11½ *ṭassūjes* broad, at a cost of 1,810 rupees, which those who are skilled in the business have valued at 2,715 rupees' (*Ā'īn*, I, 50; Blochmann, 57). Among the various kinds which he names, besides carpets and *gilīms*, are *takya-namad*, *jājims*[1], *shatranjīs*, *balūchīs*, 'and the fine mats which look as if woven of silk' (*Ā'īn*, I, 51; Blochmann, 57).

We learn from *E. F. I. 1624-1629* that a *jājim*[1] was made 'of knytt cloth', and was spread under a carpet for its protection (p. 361).

A carpet with pillow (*masnad*) and cushions

1. Pronounced in India *jājam* (*Farhang-i-Anandrāj*). Platts has both spelling.

in position can be seen on pl. X (bottom) of Blochmann.

A *masnad*, however, means not only a pillow as Blochmann says, but a properly fitted seat. It is thus defined by a European writer: James Fraser, when describing the meeting of Muḥammad Shāh and Nādir Shāh at Karnāl (February, 1739) says incidentally, '*Musnidd* is a particular place in the *Divan*, commonly higher than any other, and large enough for two or three people to sit thereon. It is spread with a better and softer Carpet than any other Part, and is covered over with fine Linnen' (Footnote * on page 163 of *History of Nadir Shah*, London, 1742). According to this, the whole of the picture at the bottom of pl. X in Blochmann mentioned above just represents a *masnad*.

Humāyūn, who was something of an astrologer, had invented a curious carpet called *Bisāṭ-i-Nishāṭ* (carpet of mirth). It was circular in shape and was 'divided into circles corresponding to the orbits of the planets, and the number of elemental spheres'. The details of the carpet and the various circles where different classes of courtiers were allowed to sit are elaborately set forth in *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*[1] and *A.N.*[2]

1. Text, 110-12; Tr., 80-81.
2. Text, I, 361; Tr., I, 649-50.

Now we come to Jahāngīr.

Among the presents sent to Jahāngīr by the Shāh of Persia early in XVI R.Y. were a *shamāma* (pastile) of ambergris, two pairs of carpets and two *namad takyas* (woollen coverlets).[1]

Pelsaert speaks of carpets "woven in moderate quantities" at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, fine and coarse. The usual quality, he says, sells at 2¼ to 3 rupees per square *gaz.*[2]

At Ahmadabad, he says again, carpets are woven "with an intermixture of silk and gold thread."[3]

The following is copied from my *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls* (p. 397) :—'On 21 *Zū'l-qa'd*, 1044, the envoy of Nazr Muḥammad Khān, ruler of Balkh, presented to Shāh Jahān, on behalf of his master, 100 horses, 50 camels, male and female, 100 maunds of lapis lazuli, some brocades of Tūrān, sables, carpets, rugs (*namad*), Russia leather (*talātīn*), some pieces of porcelain, etc.—total price Rs. 70,000.'[4]

When the Delhi palace had been completed, the halls and chambers, we are told, were spread with fine woollen carpets of various designs, which had been prepared in Kashmīr and Lahore. In par-

1. *Tūzuk*, 327 ; R. & B., II, 200 (R. & B.'s translation slightly modified).
2. *Jahangir's India*, 9.
3. *Ibid.*, 19.
4. *B. N.*, I, ii, 89 ; *A. S*, II, 99-100.

ticular, the carpet for the floor of Shāh Maḥal, which had cost 60,000 rupees, was offered by Sa'dullāh Khān, the Prime Minister, and another for the royal bed-chamber came from 'Alī Mardān Khān "Amīru'l-Umarā" (*B.N.*, III, f. 18*a*).

Shāh 'Abbās II of Persia sent many presents to Aurangzeb in II R. Y. They included 'twelve carpets, fifteen cubits in length and five in breadth, very handsome and finely worked' (*Storia*, II, 51).

'Five or six carpets of extraordinary size and beauty' were among the presents sent by the Shāh of Persia in the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign, says Bernier (p. 147). Are these two gentlemen referring to the same present? If so, the number differs. Bernier is, of course, the far more reliable witness of the two.

CHAPTER IV

CHIQS AND CURTAINS

SECTION I: CHIQ (SCREEN)

A chiq is a common thing of every-day use, and just for that reason we seldom think of its advantages and advances in its decoration.

A *chiq* is a curious bit of furniture, when we come to think of it, and remarkable in many ways.

There is something elusive about it: it half reveals and half conceals things that are behind it. It piques our curiosity and has an aroma of mystery and romance about it. It is a symbol of the purdah, which itself is a picturesque institution, and shows off to advantage an interesting aspect of Indian social life.

Unlike a curtain it gives passage to light and air, hot or cold. Combination of facilities of ventilation and visibility is only one of the advantages inherent it it.

It lends itself to various kinds of uses, and offers a wide field for decoration.

The stuffs of which a *chiq* was made had of course many qualities—ranging from rough and coarse to the finest and the rarest—and naturally

prices of the *chiqs* varied accordingly.

The following notices are available from the histories :

In the following passage Clavijo speaks of *chiqs* as being hung in front of the doorways of a royal tent at Samarqand. He was shown the great tent belonging to the Khānum, Tīmūr's chief wife, which he thus describes : 'There were to it two double doors, the first before the second, and the outer of the two had its double doors of basket work in thin rods painted red, which interlaced. These doors outside were covered with a rose coloured silk stuff loosely woven ; and they were made thus that when shut the air could enter through that material ; while further anybody inside the tent looking out could see those who were outside, though these last yet could not see into the tent to perceive those within' (*Embassy to Tamerlane*, 269).

Gulbadan Begum says that when Humāyūn and his fugitive party reached Khurāsān and were entertained by the Shāh of Persia, *chiqs* of many colours were hung round the tents erected by the men of the Shāh (*Humāyūn Nāma*, 79 [170]).

Roe once witnessed Jahāṇgīr's departure from Ajmir. At a window in the royal camp he saw "two principall wifes" of the emperor standing behind a "grate of reede" which hung before the

window. They had broken little holes in this grate to have a better view of things outside. The "grate of reede" referred to is a *chiq*. So we see that even at the royal camp the *chiqs* were made of reeds or split bamboo, although they must have been lavishly decorated.[1]

Here is an interesting item which may be given in full context. Khāfī Khān, in his account of Rafī'u'd-Daula's reign, has occasion to talk, incidentally, of some of the contents of the royal treasury. He mentions:

(1) A sheet of pearls which had been prepared on Shāh Jahān's order and was used for spreading over Mumtāz Maḥal's tomb on such occasions as the anniversary of her death and at Khatm-i-Qur'ān ceremony on Thursday evenings.

(2) A pair of *chiqs* designed by Nūr Jahān Begum, which had a medallion (or roundel) woven with gold and precious pearls and a wavy border of precious rubies and emeralds.[2]

SECTION II: CURTAINS

The ruler of Afranj sent to Tīmūr, among other things, some curtains about which the author of *Ẓafar Nāma* says, 'The figures on them had been drawn with such consummate workmanship that if

1. Roe, pp. 282-83.
2. *M. L.*, II, 837.

the pen of Mānī had worked on the tablet of Arzhang, the result would have been inferior to this in a hundred ways, and would have suffered disgrace' (II, 598).

Afranj (or Frang) means Europe, and the king of Afranj here no doubt means Henry III, the King of Castile and Leon, who sent two embassies to Tīmūr, Clavijo's being the second. These curtains were presented in all probability by Clavijo and company.

We know that European curtains were famous throughout the Mughul period, and are frequently mentioned in the histories.

Here is a miscellaneous mention of various stuffs, gold and silk and woollen.

We learn from Khwāndamīr that on a festive occasion all the shops and streets of Agra were decorated with hangings of satin, *kamkhwāb* of Europe, scarlet (*saqarlāt*) and *tāja* of seven colours.[1]

'Muqarrab Khān', says Jahāngīr, 'sent me from the port of Cambay, a European curtain, so fine that no other work of European painters that had ever been seen could make an approach to it.'[2]

The New Year's Day of XI R. Y. of Jahāngīr's reign was celebrated on 1 *Rabī*' I, 1025 (=19 March,

1. *Qānūn-i-Humāyūnī*, p. 51. Another copy has "several colours" in place of "seven colours."

2. *Tūzuk*, 68.

1616) in the Hall of Private and Public Audience, 'the area of which was laid out with tents and canopies (*s͟hāmiyānahā*), and its sides adorned with European screens, painted gold brocades, and rare cloths.'[1]

Roe once asked Āṣaf K͟hān what articles the emperor Jahāṇgīr would desire. Among the things Āṣaf K͟hān named in reply were 'some sutes of arras in great imagery and fine' (Roe, 151).

In one place we find Roe advising the East India Company to send to Surat for presentation at court some rich pieces of arras of silk and gold, fresh and of good colours.[2]

Robert Hughes, a factor, writing from Patna, 31 March, 1621, says he sold to Muqarrab K͟hān a *parda* or piece of tapestry for Rs. 300 and a great looking-glass for the same amount (*E. F. I. 1618-1621*, p. 246).

1. *Tūzuk*, 155 ; R. and B., I, 317.
2. Roe, pp. 458 and 459.

CHAPTER V

LIGHTS AND LAMPS

Here we deal with such things as torches and flares, lamps and candles, candelabra and chandeliers.

It appears that candles and candlesticks were unknown in India before the advent of the Mughuls. But ornamental candlesticks of gold are mentioned as early as *Exodus*, where candlesticks with their tongs (snuffers) and snuffdishes are elaborately described[1].

Before describing the lighting arrangements introduced by the Mughuls, it will not be inappropriate if we just glance at the state of things which Bābur found when he came to India. In his eloquent description of Hindustān he makes some rather uncharitable remarks about the lamp-bearers he found at the Indian court : 'Instead of a candle and torch, you have a gang of dirty fellows, whom they call *divatis*, who hold in their left hand a kind of small tripod, to the side of one leg of which, it being wooden, they stick a piece of iron like the top of a candlestick ; they fasten a pliant wick, of the size of the middle finger, by an iron pin, to another

1. *Exodus*, xxv, 31-40 ; and xxxvii, 17-24.

of the legs. In their right hand they hold a gourd, in which they have made a hole for the purpose of pouring out oil in a small stream, and whenever the wick requires oil, they supply it from this gourd. Their great men kept a hundred or two hundred of these *divatis*.' (*Memoirs*, II, 241-42).

Now we can turn to Abū'l-Fażl's systematic account of Illuminations[1]. His descriptive details will prepare the way for the historical notices that follow.

Akbar was something of fire-worshipper; and Abū'l-Fażl, his faithful disciple, instead of denying the charge, tries to vindicate the creed.[2] 'Every flame', he says, 'is derived from that fountain of divine light (the sun), and bears the impression of its holy essence......The fire of the sun is the torch of God's sovereignty.' (Blochmann, 50)

Hence the importance of the Lighting-up Department in the Royal Household from Akbar's time on.

Persia was the cradle of fire-worship, and the home of Zoroaster. The *Nauroz* was a Persian institution and was intimately connected with fire-worship.

1. *Ā'īn*, I, 43-45; Blochmann, 50-52.

2. Witness the following: His Majesty looks upon love of light as worship of God and divine praise. The ignorant 'consider this forgetfulness of the Almighty, and fire-worship.' (*Ā'īn*, I, 43; Blochmann, 50).

The following picturesque ceremony was part of the New Year celebration in Akbar's day: 'At noon of the day, when the sun enters the 19th degree of Aries, the whole world being then surrounded by his light, they expose a round piece of a white and shining stone, called in Hindī *Sūrajkrānt*, to the rays of the sun. A piece of cotton is then held near it, which catches fire from the heat of the stone. This celestial fire is committed to the care of proper persons. The lamp-lighters, torch-bearers, and cooks of the household, use it for their offices; and when the year has passed away in happiness, they renew the fire. The vessel in which this fire is preserved, is called *Agingir*, *i.e.*, fire-pot'. (*Ibid.*)

Akbar's sunset prayer is thus described: 'Every afternoon, one *gharī* [24 minutes] before sunset, His Majesty, if riding, alights, or, if sleeping, he is awakened. He then lays aside the splendour of royalty, and brings his external appearance in harmony with his heart. And when the sun sets, the attendants light twelve white [*kāfūrī*, of camphor] candles, on twelve candlesticks of gold and silver, and bring them before His Majesty, when a singer of sweet melodies, with a candle in his hand, sings a variety of delightful airs to the praise of God, beginning and concluding with a prayer for the continuance of this auspicious reign. His

Majesty attaches the utmost importance to praise and prayer, and earnestly asks God for renewed light'. (*Ibid.*, 51)

Abū'l-Faẓl then goes on to describe the candles, candlesticks and torches in use in the Royal Household: 'Some of the candlesticks', he says, 'weigh ten *mans*[1] and upwards, and are adorned with various designs; some single, others of two branches and more; they give light to the internal eye. His Majesty has invented a candlestick, one yard high. Five others are placed on the top of it, and each is adorned with the figure of an animal. White wax candles, three yards and upwards in length, are cast for it, so that a ladder is required to snuff it. Besides there are everywhere flambeaux, both inside and outside, which increase the light very much.' (*Ibid.*)

The number of wicks used in these flambeaux out-of-doors varied from one to eight according to the date of the lunar month, *i.e.*, according to the waxing and waning moonlight. Only one wick was used from the 10th to the 15th of the month, and all eight wicks on the first three nights, and the last week, of the month; the number being gradually increased and decreased in the interval.

When the emperor was out in camp, a huge

1. A *man* is equivalent to about 80 lbs.

beacon light was hung from a great height, and was visible from long distances. A pole more than forty yards high was erected with the help of sixteen ropes in front of the durbar camp; and on it was fixed a huge lantern (*fānūs*) called *Akās-diya*, or 'heaven's lamp.'

Bernier's account of the *Akās-diya* is graphic: 'The *aguacy-dié* resembles a lofty mast of a ship, but is very slender, and takes down in three pieces. It is fixed toward the King's quarters, near the tent called *nagar-kané*, and during the night has a lighted lantern suspended from the top. This light is very useful, for it may be seen when every object is enveloped in impenetrable darkness. To this spot persons who lose their way resort, either to pass the night secure from all danger of robbers, or to resume their search after their own lodgings. The name *aguacy-dié* may be translated Light of Heaven, the lantern when at a distance appearing like a star' (p. 369).

On Pl. V of Blochmann the reader can see the various types of candlesticks as well as the *Akās-diya*, where he can count the sixteen ropes which keep it in position. In the illustration the *Akās-diya* seems to be more like an open flare than a lantern. And yet both Abū'l-Faẓl and Bernier describe it as a lantern. It may be that it became more elaborate

in later reigns.

A *mashʻal* or torch was a thing of everyday use. Every man of consequence had a number of torch-bearers in his service, who walked or ran by his side whenever he went out by night.

Bernier, in the following passage, gives an accurate description of a *mashʻal* or flambeau, and of the effect produced by a long row of link-boys lighting the nobles to the court and back. He is describing the King's camp, and is talking now of the assembly held in the evening in the special audience tent known as *Ghusl-Khāna* or *Daulatkhāna-i-khāṣ*: 'This evening assembly subjects the *Omrahs* to much inconvenience; but it is a grand and imposing spectacle in a dark night to behold, when standing at some distance, long rows of torches lighting these *Nobles*, through extended lanes of tents, to the *gosle-kané*, and attending them back again to their own quarters. These flambeaux, although not made of wax, like ours in *France*, burn a long time. They merely consist of a piece of iron hafted in a stick, and surrounded at the extremity with linen rags steeped in oil, which are renewed, as occasion requires, by the *masalchis*, or link boys, who carry the oil in long narrownecked vessels of iron or brass' (p. 361).

A curious little item is worthy of note in this

connection. About a mile from a small village called Nagarī (situated six miles N.E. of Chitor) stands to this day a pyramidal tower of marble erected by Akbar as a beacon-light to indicate his headquarters or to guide the foragers, when he invested Chitor in 1567-68. It is said that on its summit was placed a huge cup, in which cotton seeds soaked in oil were burnt. The tapering column, called *Ubhdīwal* or 'vertical lamp', is also known as *Chirāgh-dān*, or *Akbar-kā-dīwa* (Akbar's Lamp).[1] V. A. Smith conjectures that 'the building may possibly be very ancient'.[2]

Another item also connected with the siege of Chitor is the following : After its reduction Akbar took away with him, so Tod tells us, 'the candelabras from the shrine of the "great mother", who girt Bappa Rawal with the sword with which he conquered Chitor'.[3]

A *shamāma* or pastille of ambergris, sent by the Shāh of Persia to Jahāngīr, has already been

1. Lieut.-Col. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. William Crooke, Oxford University Press, 1920, I, 379 and f.n. 3 ; III, 1812.

Also see Kavi Ráj Shyámal Dás, "Antiquities at Nagarī" in *J.A.S.B.*, vol. LVI for 1887, pp. 74-84.

2. Smith, *Akbar*, 86, f.n. 1.

3. Lieut-Col. James Tod, *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, ed. William Crooke, Oxford University Press, 1920, I, 382.

mentioned.

Jahān Ārā Begum was badly burnt by an unfortunate accident on 27 *Muḥarram*, 1054. The physicians of the court, including one recently come from Persia and another called from Lahore on purpose, were unable to heal her; and there were complications. The emperor, in his anxiety, neglected state business and shortened his office hours. At last a servant of the household, 'Ārif by name, cured her in two months, after she had been ailing for eight months and eight days.

A regular jubilee of festivities was observed (5 *Shawwāl*) by way of rejoicings and thanksgiving at her recovery, and the celebrations extended over eight days, in course of which twenty lakhs of rupees were given away in charity, and 'Ārif *chela* was given his weight in silver as his reward.

On the 25th of *Ẕū'l-qa'd* the princess, in the fulfilment of her vow, sent, by the hands of Sayyid Aḥmad Sa'īd (*Muftī* of the Army), a jewelled candle to be hung at the tomb of the Prophet at Madīna, along with five lakhs of rupees—the emperor's votive offering for her recovery.

The rest of the story is irrelevant to our present purpose, but will interest the reader. Only five or six days later, on the 1st *Ẕū'l-ḥijj*, there was a recrudescence of the sores, and the emperor was

plunged in helpless despair. Muḥammad ʻAlī, *faujdār* of Hissar, had already represented that Hāmūn, a wandering mendicant, had a specific for such sores, and he might be given a chance. His instant attendance was ordered. He applied an ointment, which proved so efficacious that most of the sores healed up in three days, and the princess was completely recovered in twenty days' time. Hāmūn was weighed in silver, and received the amount. Besides he was loaded with the following gifts: a robe of honour, a horse, an elephant, a village at his home with the government dues and taxes (*āl-tamghā*) pertaining to it, jewellery for his head, neck and hands (from the emperor as well as the princess and the princes). The historian adds that where renowned surgeons, Muslim, European and Hindū, had failed to effect a cure, Hāmūn and ʻĀrif scored a signal success, and their names shall go down in history (*B.N.*, II, 363-64, 367-69, 393-97, 406, 408-9). The story points a moral to those who attach too much importance to professional and officially recognized body of knowledge.

A remarkable ambergris-scented pastille, set with precious stones and valued at 2½ lakhs of rupees, was sent with cash presents by Shāh Jahān, through Sayyid Ahmad Saʻīd, as an offering, to the

Mausoleum of the Great Prophet at Madīna in XXI R.Y. The presentation has been mentioned in the author's *Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls* (pp. 180-81), where the reader will find it set forth in full detail.

Unfortunately the Sayyid suffered shipwreck on the way out and returned to Sūrat with his goods damaged (*B.N.*, III, f. 20 *b.*). On 12 *Shawwāl*, 1058, he was sent again with the *shamāma* (*Ibid.*, f. 21*b*).

The author of *Mulakhkhaṣ* tells us that he offered to Shāh Jahān (24 *Rabī*' I, 1066) a fine pastille of ambergris weighing 50 *tolas*, beautifully carved in the shape of the many-leaved *nīlofar*[1] blossom (My MS., f. 93*a*). This is not mentioned anywhere else.

In the *Sāwan-Bhādon* at the Lahore Shālamār Garden, we have as many as 220 small cusped niches in the three walls, all faced with marble. In these niches flowers were placed by day and candles by night. A ledge ran along the top of these walls, and through a slit over this ledge water came down in cascades, so that the flowers or candles in the niches could be seen through the falling sheets of water. This effect was meant to suggest rain and lightning characteristic of the rainy season in the

1. Blue lotus or blue water-lily.

months of *Sāwan* and *Bhādon* (corresponding to mid-July—mid-September).

The idea became popular and was repeated in richer material and with better workmanship in several places in the Delhi palace gardens. Muḥammad Wāriṡ tells us that arched recesses were built in the walls behind cascades, and both the walls and the recesses were faced with marble and decorated with *pietra dura* work in cornelian, agate, coral and other semi-precious stones. In these niches were placed, by day, golden flowers in golden vases, and, by night, lighted camphor-scented candles[1] in candlesticks of pure gold and silver[2] (*B.N.*, III, f. 14 *a-b*). The effect of sheets of limpid water falling against such a background can be easily imagined.

1. The word in text is *sham'ahā-i-kāfūrī*, which may mean only 'white wax candles.'

2. The text has *sham'adānhā-i-abrezī*, which can also be read *sham'adānhā-i-ābrezī*. I have adopted the former reading.

CHAPTER VI

BEDSTEADS

The bedstead was a stately piece of furniture, dignified and dignifying. Besides some fugitive notices, which are like passing glimpses, we have a few elaborate descriptions by European travellers, and some pictures by Indian artists, who, in portraying some historical subject or occasion, have incidentally included a bed properly draped and furnished. We have arranged them all in one single chronological order. The reader will find here some remarkable specimens, which were in use in the royal palace and in the houses of princes and nobles. If the reader ekes out the slender material placed before him with his visualizing power, he can see a world of gorgeous splendour taking shape before his mind's eye.

We can lead off with Clavijo's graphic and comprehensive account of Tīmūr's bed-chamber. The author is describing one of Tīmūr's palaces at Samarqand, and gives interesting details about his bedroom and its furnishings: 'In the centre of this garden there was built a very fine palace the ground plan of which was a cross. The interior was all most richly furnished with hangings on the walls,

and within there was a chamber with three arched alcoves which were sleeping places each with a raised dais, the walls and flooring being of coloured tiles. Entering this chamber the largest of the three alcoves was the one facing you, and here stood a screen made of silver and gilt: this being of the height of a man, and broad as to measure three out-stretched arms. In front of this screen was a bed composed of small mattresses some covered with kincob [gold brocade] some with silk stuff worked with gold thread, one mattress being placed above the other on the floor; and this was his Highness's couch[1]. (p. 227).

In *B.N.E.*, to face p. 702 but stuck in the Table of Contents, we have a picture of Bābur in prayer and Humāyūn ill in bed. The reader can see here a plain bed, with pillows and bed-clothes all complete, and in fact in actual use.

We hear of jewelled *chhaparkkaṭs* (bedsteads with testers and curtains) in *Humāyūn Nāma* (pp. 33 and 34).

Similarly, in *Humāyūn Nāma*, on Plate facing p. 162, we have bedstead used by the ladies in the royal household in Humāyūn's time. This is a simple bed, and we see it in its setting. Overhead are the hung-up curtains and the canopy.

1. The reader notices that there is no bedstead.

Roe tells the Company that a fair China bedstead would be a rich present in India (p. 99). He says, in another place, that bedsteads 'from the southwardes' are as profitable in India as in England (pp. 459-60).

The German traveller Von Poser, who obtained audience of Jahāngīr on 19 January, 1622, at Nūrpur (Kāngra), says that 'the king lay on a handsome bedstead made from mother-of-pearl'.[1]

In a picture painted by Abū'l-Ḥasan about 1625 we see Jahāngīr, supported by two ladies of the Haram, going towards a bed of state, while other ladies make music. We have a good view here of the royal bed, fitted up and ready for use. The head and legs, which are all that we see, are bejewelled (Blochet, *Mussulman Painting*, Pl. CXCIV).

A portable bedstead belonging to Āṣaf Khān, Shāh Jahān's father-in-law, is thus described by an eye-witness. Fray Sebastien Manrique makes us see it as it lay in a stately chamber in Āṣaf Khān's famous palace at Lahore, where the good Father waited on him during his last illness.

The floor of the handsome building to which Manrique was conducted 'was entirely covered with rich and gaily coloured carpets, the bare floor being

1. *J.R.A.S.* for 1910, p. 1344.

held unworthy to support the rich portable bedstead which stood in the centre, otherwise than upon such a covering. This bedstead was made entirely of the finest gold and inlaid with precious stones of the finest kind and most brilliant colours, which, besides adding to its value, made it most attractive in appearance. On this bedstead Prince Assofo Kan, who was somewhat indisposed, was lying' (Manrique, II, 208).

This interview occurred immediately after the Lunar Weighment held on Saturday, 4 *Rabī'* II, 1051 (=13 July, 1641).[1] Āṣaf Khān had been ailing for some time, and this was his last illness. He died at Lahore in the following winter, and was buried at Shāhdara, close to Jahāngīr's resting-place. His palace, which had cost twenty lakhs of rupees, was, after his death, bestowed on Dārā Shukoh.[2]

Use of bedsteads of gold and silver, it appears, was not confined to the royalties, for in Mundy we read of a silver cot (or a cot at least plated with silver) belonging to Bāqir Khān. Peter Mundy, on his way from Āgra to Sūrat, met (end of February, 1632/3) Bāqir Khān, who was *en route* to Aḥmadābād, to take up his post as Governor of Gujarāt. Among Bāqir Khān's luggage. Mundy

1. Both the dates given in Manrique, II, 192, f.n. 4, require correction.

2. *B.N.*, II, 259.

noticed a silver (or silver-coated) bed, which, as a precaution against injury, was being carried on men's shoulders. It was surprised by a gang of robbers, one of whom was caught and condemned by Bāqir Khān to be trampled under elephant's feet (Mundy, II, 232).

On 18 *Ṣafar*, 1063, Shāh Jahān visited the house of "Amīru'l Umarā" 'Alī Mardān Khān. He offered presents worth Rs. 2,20,000, including a jewelled bedstead and a valuable jewelled saddle (*B.N.*, III, f.71*b*; *A.S.*, III, 154).

In *Rabī'* II, 1065, Jahān Ārā Begum offered to Shāh Jahān a bed of enamelled gold. It was valued at 40,000 rupees (*B.N.*, III, f. 97*b*).

On the occasion of the Solar Weighment (Friday, 4 *Rabī'* II, 1067) Prince Dārā Shukoh offered presents worth Rs. 1,50,000. These included a bedstead valued at Rs. 68,000.[1] It was set with diamonds, *yāqūts*, and emeralds, the head and legs being of jasper (*B.N.*, III, f. 121*a-b*; *A.S.*, III, 239).

Rāi Anand Rām "Mukhliṣ" tells us that Princess Jahān Ārā Begum had got engraved on her bed of gold بیگم صاحب کا پلنگ سونے کا (*Mir'ātu'l-Iṣṭilāh*, *f*. 121*a*).

There is a play on the last two words, which may mean 'of gold' or 'for sleeping'.

1. *A.S.* and my MS. of *B.N.*, III (f. 291*b*) have both Rs. 70,000.

In Illustration No. 3 of *Journal of Indian Art and Industry*, Vol. XV, New Series, No. 121 : for January, 1913, we see Aurangzeb in full court dress (!) lying in a bed and playing with a baby. A lady of the Haram is by his bedside, drawing to her another baby which is borne by a servant standing. The emperor is smoking a hubble-bubble, which with its snake-like tube is in full view, along with a spittoon, a *pandān* and a tray of fruit. The bedstead, which is pretty, is clearly visible, bed, pillows and all.

Bed Clothes

Not much material is available about bed clothes. Here is just one item :

Tūshaks (mattresses) of *khayāl* are mentioned in *Humāyūn Nāma.*[1] I do not find *khayāl* in any dictionary, nor does it appear in the lists of Gold and Silk stuffs in *Ā'īn*; although we have counterpanes.[2]

Dastarkhwāns (table cloths) of gold worked *khayāl* are also mentioned in the same place.[1]

Linschoten's remarks on Coverlets are interesting. In the following passage he is talking of Cambay and the articles manufactured there : 'They make also faire coverlits, which they call Godoriins Colchas [? quilts], which are very fair and pleasant

1. Text, 34, top.
2. *Ā'in* text, I, p. 105 *et seqq* ; Tr., 98 *et seqq.*

[to the eye], stitched with silke, and also of Cotton of all colours and stitchinges: pavilions of divers sorts and colours: Persintos that are stringes or bands, wherewith the Indians bind and make fast their bedsteddes, thereon to lay their beds; all kind of bedsteds, stooles for Indian women, and other such like stuffes, costly wrought and covered with stuffes [lacquer, *i.e.*, varnish], of all colours' (I, 61).

Where are these glorious things today—gold thrones studded with gem-stones, and bedsteads of porcelain and mother-of-pearl, of gold and silver, jewelled and enamelled? Gone with the snows of yester-year! He whom the gods love dies young, runs the proverb[1]; and 'summer's lease hath all too short a date,' says Shakespeare.[2] Perhaps these classical creations were just too beautiful to last; and the very costliness of their material carried the seeds of their destruction. Be it so; the passing away of a gem of art is a tragedy of the first magnitude nevertheless.

1. For the benefit of the more punctilious readers it may be pointed out that Byron adopts the following form: 'Whom the gods love, die young', which we find in *Don Juan*, Canto iv, st. 12. The Greek original, from which it is derived, is to be found in Menander, the Greek poet, who has, 'He whom the gods love dies young' (*Dis Exapaton*).

2. Sonnet XVIII.

CHAPTER VII

TABLES, CABINETS, LOOKING-GLASSES, Etc.

SECT. I: TABLES

In the following passage Clavijo describes a gold table, set beside which was a golden oak tree.

'In front of this cabinet [cabinet for drinking vessels described on p. . . . .] was standing a small table some two palms in height made of gold this too being ornamented with beautiful stones and many big pearls, while in the top of the table was set a great emerald of very light colour, green ; this lay level with the table top and in size it might measure four palms in the length, stretching from end to end of the table, and it was a palm breadth and a half across' (p. 270).

Beside this table stood a golden oak tree bearing many fruits made of precious stones and pearls, on the branches of which sat birds of gold enamel. This tree is described at great length by the ambassador ; but we omit it as it is not relevant to our discourse (*Ibid.*).

Tavernier presented to Nawwāb Ja'far Khān, Aurangzeb's uncle, 'a table, with nineteen pieces to

make a cabinet, the whole of precious stones of diverse colours representing all kinds of flowers and birds. The work had been done at Florence, and had cost 2,150 livres [£161 5*s.*]' (Tavernier, I, 114).

SECT. II : CABINETS

In the following passage Clavijo describes a beautiful cabinet for holding a set of drinking vessels: 'In the middle within the tent, facing the doorway was placed a chest or small cabinet which was used as a stand for cups and dishes of plate. This cabinet was entirely made of gold, richly ornamented with enamel work with insets, and in height it would stand to a man's breast. The top was flat and it was enclosed at the back with the like of little battlements in green and blue enamel, which were scalloped. The whole of this cabinet was encrusted with jewels and pearls of large size, and in the centre part between the pearls and precious stones was set a single round jewel the size of a small nut, but it was not of any very excellent colour. (pp. 269-70).

Cabinets or trunks of Japan, says Roe, are here rich presents (p. 99). Chests, cabinets, bedsteads are again spoken of as profitable presents (p. 459).

A 'barber's case' was among the articles which Jahāngīr opened without Roe's permission and appropriated (Roe, 348).

M. Velant, chief of the Dutch factory at Āgra, offered to the Governor of that place presents which included some Japanese cabinets (Tavernier, I, 87).

SECT. III : LOOKING-GLASSES

These seem to have been in considerable demand. We do not possess much information about particularly expensive articles in this line, although there must have been some remarkable specimens in existence; but we learn from the E. I. Company reports that looking-glasses were freely imported from England. Roe mentions looking-glasses among articles fit for presentation or for sale at the Mughul court (Roe, p. 312, f.n.). He tells us in another place how a folding looking-glass was opened and appropriated by Jahāngīr (p. 346).

The price of an article of this kind naturally depended on its size and quality as well as on the setting or fitting. The E. I. Company records give an idea of the run of prices: An ordinary looking-glass was about 9 *maḥmūdīs.*[1] A more elaborate one would be valued at 15 *maḥmūdīs*[2]. A gilt leather looking-glass was priced at 15*s.*[3]; and one set with mother of pearl at 50 *maḥmūdīs*[2]. Again 'two fair gilded leather looking-glasses' were rated at 25

1. *E.F.I. 1618-1621*, p. 64 ; *Letters*, IV, 83.
2. *Letters*, IV, 82.
3. *Letters*, IV, 83.

maḥmūdīs[1] each; and three looking-glasses with double furniture at 30 *maḥmūdīs* each.[1]

The finer specimens, of course, carried higher prices: two 'fair looking-glasses set with stones, with great large stone pillars' were priced at 200 *maḥmūdīs* each[1]: a double looking-glass (cost £100) was sold for Rs. 1,250.[2]

Here is a small item with a wide comment: 'Of new drinking glasses, trenchers for sweetmeats, but especially looking glasses of all sorts and different prices (but not small baubles)', says a letter from Sūrat, dated 30th August, 1609, 'some reasonable quantity would be sold to good profit and I verily suppose that some fair large looking glass would be highly accepted of this King, for he affects not the value of anything but rarity in everything' (*Letters*, I, 33).

Muqarrab Khān's order already referred to included 'the greatest looking-glasses that may be got' (*Letters*, II, 173).

A burning glass, *i.e.*, a magnifying glass, cost two or three *maḥmūdīs* (*Letters*, IV, 82 and 83).

Some large looking-glasses were among the articles offered to Aurangzeb by the chief of the Dutch factory at Surat.[3]

1. *Letters*, IV, 82.
2. *E.F.I. 1618-1621*, p. 327.
3. I have misplaced the reference of page.

SECT. IV: BRAZIERS

Gold and jewelled braziers, in which perfumes were burnt, were often set on gold stands in the durbar (*B.N.*, III, ff. 86*b*, 104*a*, 120*b*).

CHAPTER VIII

PICTURES

According to modern ideas pictures are part of furniture, and should be classed under it. This being so, the following entries would come in here.

Sir Thomas Roe was a seasoned diplomat and an intelligent observer of men and things; but he was an unsympathetic judge of Indian things and Indian taste. His prejudice is fortunately too obvious to deceive us. Here is an amusing story of a picture, told by himself,[1] which is worth relating at length: Roe had a miniature[2], which was much admired by Āṣaf Khān, who placed it before Jahāngīr. The emperor was much pleased with it, and showed it to all present in court. Then he called his chief painter and asked him what he thought of it. The artist, taking the hint, submitted that he could match the picture. Roe's words are: 'The foole answered he could make as good'. The emperor

1. Roe, 189-90, 199-201,

2. The editor, drawing upon Roe's accounts (*Add. MS.* 6115, f. 276), informs us 'that the painting was a "smale limned picture of a woeman"; and that it cost in England 6*l* [£6], and would have sold in India for 150 rupees'. The painter was Isaac Oliver (1551-1617) (Roe, 190, f.n. 1).

turned to Roe, and asked him what he had to say to it. The ambassador stoutly asserted that it was impossible. The emperor, piqued, said in a sporting mood, 'But if hee doe, what will yow say?' Roe proudly declared, 'I would give 10,000 *rupies* for such a coppy of his hand, for I knowe non in Europe but the same master can performe it.' The emperor, anxious to pin him down to the offer, said, 'I will call four paynters, my cheefe woorke men, and what will yow give mee if they make one so like, that yow shall not knowe your owne?' The wary diplomat, perceiving that he had spoken rashly, went back on his word rather ignominiously, and resorted to equivocations and excuses, and tried to cover his retreat by flattering the king's vanity (pp. 189-90).

After some twenty days, on August 6, 1616, the pictures were ready. Roe was called to the *Darbār-i-'Ām*, where he was twitted again about the bet, and was ordered to attend the *Darbār-i-Khāṣ* in the evening. In the *Ghusulkhāna* the emperor showed the ambassador six pitures, five made by the royal painters, the sixth being Roe's original. In Roe's own words, they were 'so like that I was by candle light troubled to discerne which was which; I confesse beyond all expectation; yet I showed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparant, but not to be juged by a common

eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyfull and craked [boasted] like a northern man. I gave him way and content, praysing his mans arte.' There was more pleasantry, and the demand for the bet was renewed, which he tried to laugh off (pp. 199-200).

Throughout this story Roe, on his own showing, cuts a sorry figure. Despite his excuses and explanations it is clear from the following considerations that Roe could *not* distinguish his original from the copies: (1) Jahāngīr, we are told, was triumphant; and in the bantering that followed Roe not once pleaded that he *had* spotted the original and won the bet. Roe is not the man to forget his defences. (2) On the contrary he admits that the royal painter had far excelled his (Roe's) opinion about him, and goes on to explain that he had formed his low opinion about Indian painters from a picture of Jahāngīr he had obtained, which was considered of very high quality, and was really far inferior to this work. (3) Terry was not an eye-witness of this incident; but his account can be used to check Roe's, who is an interested party: 'The Ambassadour viewing them long, either out of courtship to please the king, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the pictures, being all exquisitly done, took one of them which was new made for that which he had

formerly presented, and did after profess that he did not flatter, but mistake in that choise.'

The moral of the tale is the very high quality of the Mughul Indian art of painting and the highly developed tastes of the emperor and the courtiers.

Here is a curiosity.

William Edwards, writing from Ajmere to the E. I. Company, on 26 February, 1614 [1615], says 'Among other pictures, if you send any, it would do well to appoint a dozen of those small creased pictures which show, some two faces or persons, and some three, according as you stand to look upon them' (*Letters*, III, 19).

Among the articles bought by private Englishmen for trade on their own account we find a 'picture of one of the nymphs' priced at 10 *maḥmūdīs* (*Letters*, IV, 82).

Roe reports in 1617 that the picture of Diana gave great content this year (Roe, 459).

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SOME SELECTED REVIEWS ON EARLIER MONOGRAPHS

EARLIER

Dr. Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *late High Commissioner for India in South Africa.*

My attention to Mr. Abdul Aziz's work was drawn by his excellent articles in the Journal of Indian History, Madras in, I think, 1932 or 1933. I followed these articles with the greatest interest, as they dealt with an exceedingly difficult period in a style of striking lucidity and scientific precision. They contained none of the vague, obscure and inaccurate theories and facts which has sometimes impelled me to ask the author, why do you mumble? I am glad to find that Mr. Abdul Aziz has collected together these articles and intends to publish them in a book form. I think it is a wise decision, and will be weclomed by all students of Mughul India.

Mr. Abdul Aziz's monograph on "The Imperial Treasury of the Greater Mughuls" is a work of solid research, sound judgment and great industry, and he has laid all students of the period under a deep debt of gratitude by his researches. Only those who have been through the novitiate of a trained historical scholar can appreciate the wealth and variety of the material he has collected together. His introductory chapter on the Imperial Household is excellent, and he has discussed the material with discrimination and tact. It does not pretend to be an exhaustive account, and he had perforce to content himself with the chief offices and departments...

Mr. Aziz then discusses the sources of revenue in the time of Greater Mughuls and calculates their value, with his customary caution, detachment and precision.

The other articles deal with precious stones, and discuss the nature and quality of various kinds of stones, and trace the history of the Koh-i-Noor diamond...The section on Rubies is excellent while other sections that will appeal to readers are those on Ivory and Ivory Work in India......The chapter headed Actual Contents of Jewel Treasury from the invasion of Bābur to that of Nādir Shāh is a work of rare power, and should be read by all.......

This brief analysis of a brilliant work will show at a glance how solid is Mr. Abdul Aziz's contribution to the knowledge of the Mughul India. Mr. Abdul Aziz's account of the Thrones, Chairs and Seats of the Great Mughuls makes fascinating reading, and there is a very fine account of the Peacock Throne......

Mr. Abdul Aziz has also published articles on the Manṣabdārī System and the Mughul Army. In these articles Mr. Aziz deals with a subject which has been the focus of acute controversy, and discusses the theories of Dr. Paul Horn, Blochmann, and others on the nature and origin of Manṣabdārī.

The subject bristles with difficulties, and no writer can claim infallibility. I am, however, inclined to agree with the author that Dr. Paul Horn's whole account of the Manṣabdārī System suffers from a fundamental misunderstanding. The author's explanation of the significance of Zat and Sawar ranks is plausible, as it represents a very dispassionate and thorough analysis of the works of previous writers on the subject. The reader will find Mr. Abdul Aziz's account of Mughul aristocracy as a social phenomenon interesting..

In conclusion, I may add that few works published during the last twenty years have dealt so thoroughly and ably with an extremely important aspect of Mughul administration. Mr. Abdul Aziz's work is a pioneer undertaking and he has brought to his task all the qualities which are indispensable in a historian—sound judgment, care and caution in the handling of material, thorough study of the data and a lucid style. I am sure that the work will be welcomed by all students of this period with enthusiasm.

J. F. Bruce, Esq., *University Professor of History, Panjab University, Lahore.*

I have been rather closely aware, during the past eight years, of the studies of Mr. Abdul Aziz in Mughul history; and have read the published results with much interest. He is well equipped for the enquiries to which he has devoted himself for a good many years past, as he possesses not only an exact knowledge of Persian but also a very wide and critical knowledge of the original contemporary sources from which alone a genuine understanding of that period can be derived. He has also a command of the language of French and German scholars of the subject.

Mr. Abdul Aziz is a very meticulous student, who insists upon a precise examination of the *minutiae* of his subject, which gives his reader confidence in the originality and authenticity of his work. If he can give us a reflective summary of the result of his years of patient scholarship, he will make a valuable contribution to Indian history. He has, too, a clear and pleasant English style.

K. B. M. Afzal Husain, *Vice-Chancellor Panjab Untversity.*

Mr. Abdul Aziz has sent me for opinion reprints of his

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articles on various subjects connected with the history of the Mughul period. I have read these entertaining articles with great interest. Scientific precision regarding the authenticity of facts is the characteristic of these valuable contributions. The style is lucid and elegant. I have been struck by the extensive amount of labour which this study must have entailed and the thorough mastery of the subject which the author possesses.

So far history has been dealt with as the story of kings. Mr. Abdul Aziz has rendered valuable service to our country in dealing with the history of the people of the Mughul period. A king may be good or he may be bad, and to base the entire conception of the evolution of society on the personality of the king cannot historically yield important results. The common people are the real material of which history is built, and I congratulate Mr. Abdul Aziz that he has constructed his history from such material.

Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Editor, "Journal of Indian History," Madras.*

Mr. Abdul Aziz, Bar.-at-Law, Batala, Punjab, began rather a large-scale history of perhaps the most brilliant period of the Mughul Empire in India, the empire under Shah Jahan. He contributed a series of articles as a preliminary to his work on the Mansabdārī System of the Mughuls, and the Treasury and the Jewels of the Mughuls. In both of these subjects, he made a most thorough-going study of the topics he chose for treatment. Had he had the chance of completing the work without interruption, he should have succeeded in publishing a magnificent work on the Mughul Empire.....I am say that Mr. Abdul Aziz's work as a student of history deserves all commendation. I only hope

that he will have, for this part of the work, such an encouraging reception as would stimulate him to go forward and complete the work, notwithstanding all the inconveniences, which his professional work as well as the other calls upon his time might interpose. I wish him all success in his enterprise.

The Hon'ble Sir Azizul Huque, *Commerce Member, Government of India.*

I have gone through the reprints of your articles on the "Imperial Treasury and the Mughul Army" and I congratulate you on your careful collection of materials available in scattered works. I wish there were similar studies on the Mughul administration in India by other research workers.

S. H. Hodivala, Esq., *Principal and Professor of History (retired), Bahauddin College, Junagadh, author of "Historical Studies in Mughul Numismatics," "Studies in Indo-Muslim History."*

I am very greatly obliged to you for letting me see an advance copy of the Table of Contents of the Series of Monographs which you have projected on the Court and Institutions of the Indian Mughuls. Your plan is an ambitious one and may take some years to complete, but it is a task well worth performing, and I devoutly hope that you will be able to complete it and get the extra treatises published, as you hope to do, during the next three years. To judge from the two dissertations which have been already printed, it is sure to be of great value for the intensive study of the subject. No one who has read those Essays on the Manṣabdārī System and the Imperial Treasury can fail to be most favourably impressed by your patient industry, wide know-

ledge of the original authorities, meticulous zeal and avidity for facts and the judgment and good sense you have brought to bear on the interpretation of the crabbed and frequently cryptic phraseology of the contemporary chroniclers. This is specially true of the disquisition on the Manṣabdārī System—a subject which has been greatly perplexed by the guesses and theories of previous writers. It is possible that we shall never be able to understand it completely, but your elucidations of some of the obscure and controversial points may be justly described as honest and intelligent attempts to arrive at the truth and they deserve to be carefully considered by all earnest students of the subject.

Muhammad Shafi, Esq., *Principal, University Oriental College, Lahore.*

For many years Prof. Abdul ʿAziz has been devoting himself almost entirely to a critical study of the problems connected with the history of Mughul India. His extensive reading of the original authorities of the first rank, with a judicious use of contemporary paintings and other illustrative materials, has enabled him to give us a vivid and life-like picture of the Mughul times. His abundant sympathy with his subject, controlled by his critical capacity, has given his narrative the rare quality which is found only in the very best histories of the period. Students of the period will thank him for his deep researches into the period.

The late Mr. W. H. Moreland *of the I.C.S., author of "Jahangir's India," "Agrarian System of Moslem India," etc.*

It gave me great satisfaction to see that you had changed from the conventional style, which merely produces more "chronicles", and were trying to make history out of the

chronicles and the other material available.....With all good wishes for the success of your work (Letter dated 31st January, 1933).

It is always pleasant to hear from anyone who is trying to find facts in Indian history, where so many people are content to make guesses (Letter dated 4th April, 1933).

LATER

Mr. 'Abdul-'Aziz is a practising lawyer of Lahore and it is very creditable on his part to have devoted his valuable time in deep researches into the social structure of the Mughal empire......The very contents [of the Series] show the sweep of the author's learning and his researches and, to some extent, unfold to us the grandeur that was the Mughal empire......Some of the chapters of this book are very interesting and instructive......The whole book makes an interesting reading even to the extent of the section on jewellers' weights which the author says is more or less dry and technical....The great educative and cultural value of the work.—*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Deccan.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, who had already established his reputation as a successful interpreter of the history of the Mughal times, has now presented the result of his researches in a volume which forms one of a series on Indo-Mughal Court and its Institutions, and which will interest students of Mughal administration, as also the general reader. The book consists of a detailed survey of the resources of the Indo-Mughal rulers over two centuries, in which their treasure accounts are carefully analysed......Mr. Aziz's work thus presents a vivid lifelike picture of the Indo-Mughal household, its cash treasury, its jewel treasury, and of the role played by gems and gem-stones in our history. The work

which is well-documented, indicates the anthor's wide knowledge, and spirit of research. We unhesitatingly recommend its careful study to all interested in the life and manners of the Indo-Mughal times. We shall also watch with a sympathetic interest the author's progress towards the completion of his series.—*The Hindustan Review*, Patna.

For a number of years past Mr. Abdul Aziz has devoted himself to a thorough and detailed study of Mughal Court life and the Mughal system of administration; and his series of monographs, the result of laborious, patient research, promise to be a valuable record of Mughal Indian civilization, better and more comprehensive than the attempts hitherto made. The labour and industry that has gone into the making of this series must indeed have been tremendous. Original sources and authorities have been examined by the author critically and with a discriminating eye. Mr. Abdul Aziz's work is indeed of the first rank and on the basis of his achievement he amply deserves the status of a leading authority on Mughal institutions.

Mr. Abdul Aziz has the advantage of a simple, lucid style, free from verbiage. His work is of great value, especially to students and teachers of history. Even the casual reader will find the publication of much interest. —*The Tribune*, Lahore.

Mr. Abdul Aziz's monograph on "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Moghuls" is a monumental work of solid research, sound judgment, and a thorough knowledge of the people of the Mogul period......This book achieves remarkable success in being on the one hand scholarly and carefully documented, and on the other, retaining a fresh and essentially readable style. It may be recommended alike to

the student of history and to the layman.—*The Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay.

This is very curious and interesting book......A treatise of fascinating interest.—*The Hindu.*

Mr. Abdul Aziz has already well established his reputation as a close student of the history of Mughal times......... The work is well-documented, his judgment controlled, and his sympathy abundant. It indicates his wide knowledge, meticulous industry, and deep researches. The book can be unhesitatingly recommended to all those interested in the life and manners of the Mughul times.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, though a lawyer by profession, has earned a name for solid research in the history and institutions of the Indian Mughuls......The accounts of European travellers and indigenous historians have been collated carefully, even to the most detailed *minutiae*. The treatment ......has a genuine value as bearing on an important, much-vaunted, but little-studied, aspect of Mughul history. We eagerly await the succeeding volumes in the series.—*The Educational Review*, Madras.

It need hardly be mentioned that the scholar who makes an objective study of an important period of Indian history, naturally deserves our best thanks especially if he makes a study of the Mughal period which, however 'brilliant' it might have been. has begun to be maligned with lapse of time and owing to anachronistic ideas of many of the so-called moderns......

Mr. 'Abdu'l-'Azīz has delineated the military system from the time of Mughal hordes of Central Asia till it acclimatised itself on the plains of Hindustan. He has discussed all the data he has been able to command, both

primary and secondary, and has compared his conclusions with the lists supplied by Indian as well as foreign contemporary authorities......

Mr. 'Abdu'l-Azīz describes the social life of the nobles and at the Imperial court in an interesting manner and rightly says that the Manṣabdāri system was the basis not only of the army but of the aristocracy as well, for it was "the army, the civil administration and the peerage all rolled into one." While his discussions arising out of the Manṣabdāri are penetrating, his description of the army of the Mughals which he has condensed into a single chapter, would be interesting even to a layman......

The work is an extremley valuable contribution to the literature on the institution of one of the most resplendent periods of the history of India.—*Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad-Deccan.

We reviewed in these columns sometime back the author's earlier work : "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughuls". It was an excellent research work. By bringing out the present volume under review he has added to his reputation as a brilliant research scholar exploring the Mughul period with success......

This historical work is swift-moving and exciting. The dry historical facts have been presented with clarity and vision. The author has embodied all scholastic requirements, thus providing the student with a text and reference book.—*The Tribune*, Lahore.

Mr. Abdul Aziz, a legal practitioner of Lahore, has projected a series of monographs on the Mughal court and its institutions, the first of them already published being "The Imperial Treasury of the Indian Mughals". In the present volume he discusses the origin of the Manṣabdārī system

and traces it to the days of Timur and Chingiz Khan, whose army was the prototype of the Mughal institution ; describes the changes made by each of the Grand Mughals up to Aurangzib, who attempted no further reform of it ; rejects the view that the *Zat* and *Suwar* ranks represent the infantry and the cavalry ; schedules the pay and number of Manṣabdārī ; and considers their classifications, their social and economic position and their military functions. The book is a very welcome contribution to the historical literature on the Indian Mughals.—*The Hindu*, Madras.

The present volume will add to his reputation as a successful research scholar of the Mughal period......Mr. Abdul Aziz describes lucidly, and in detail, how the Manṣabdārī system worked successfully as the military aristocracy in the days of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and even of Aurangzeb.....

The volume under notice is an informing sketch of an important branch of the Mughal period ; and the author's work merits due ackowledgment and wide appreciation. —*The Hindustan Review*, Patna.

What Mansabdari is in conception and in detail is very difficult to understand and explain. Historians are generally silent on the matter......The author takes great pains in giving an authentic account of the difficult subject......The author traces it from the time of Babar down to the time of Aurangzeb. In support of his statements the author refers to all available authorities and records. This work thus based on concrete facts and instances with a little imagination serves the purpose of a dependable history of the Mansabdari system.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta.

J. F. Bruce, Esq., "*Dellstove*", *Hinksey Hill Top, Oxford.*

Several things about it greatly impress me: first, your wide and precise erudition : secondly, your admirable command of literary English, as well as your knowledge of French and German and your critical familiarity with the contributions to your subject in those languages ; thirdly, your sensitive appreciation of various aspects of European culture, particularly the artistic. These are all very notable in a scholar who has lived continuously in Punjab for so many years since his sojourn in England and Europe. Moreover, I agree substantially with your proem on the proper function of the historian.

It is but fair to say to you that you write English more elegantly and expressively than many Englishmen to whom literature is a profession. And I infer that your Persian is of the same quality.

Your patient collation of source material is a lesson in research.—Letter dated December 14, 1946.

P. N. Banerjee, Esq., *Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, Calcutta.*

I have read with interest the *Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army* by Mr. Abdul Aziz. Mr. Aziz has given illuminating account of the picture of Mughal court life...... Mughal thought and culture has left its deep impress upon Indian culture and thought......If India reaches her destiny within the next few years, the author's work will not only please the scholar and the general reader, it will have its lessons for the future administrator as well.—Letter dated July 10, 1946.

